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CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT SERIES

THE AGE OF THE KUSHĀṆAS

—A NUMISMATIC STUDY

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BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., D.PHIL (CAL.)

With a Foreword

By

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Dedicated to the memory
of
Sir Alexander Cunningham

FOREWORD

This work by Dr. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay is an important addition to the existing literature on the history of the Kushāṇas. It bears a distinctive character, being based primarily on numismatic evidence, though frequent use has, of necessity, been made of the other available sources of information. Beginning with a general historical survey, he gives a detailed account of the movements of the Yueh-chi, the origin of the Kushāṇas and their emergence as a great political power. This is followed by two chapters devoted to an exhaustive classification of the multiple types which they issued, together with their subdivisions, whose development is traced through successive stages from the time of their earliest ruler to that of Vāsudeva I. What the author understands by 'the last phase of the Kushāṇa coinage' is discussed in a separate chapter, in which are pointed out the typological and other features of the coinages of Vāsudeva's successors, the Sassanians and the Kidāra-Kushāṇas, and, finally, of the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins, In a few chapters the author examines in separate sections the nature of the representation of kings and of deities on the Kushāṇa coinage with the characteristic attributes of the latter ably analysed; the legends and symbols, presented by it, and lastly, its metrology, which, reasonably enough, has received the scholar's prominent attention. One whole chapter is concerned exclusively with the subject of provenance with comments on the problems which it gives rise to. The book concludes with an estimate of the influence of numismatic traditions of foreign origin on indigenous coinages of ancient India, specially those of the Gupta sovereigns.

Dr. Chattopadhyay's work reflects in a proper setting the progress which age-long research has made in the field of his specialised study. This is abundantly clear in his attempt to investigate the affinities of the Kushāṇa coinage with the coins struck by the Bactrian Greeks and the Scytho-Parthians, and to determine the order of succession of the

Kushāṇa kings from the peculiarities of their respective currencies as well as the evidence of stratification yielded by archaeological excavations, which has been generally relied upon for the purpose. The question whether the coins, so far discovered, are sufficient to establish chronological sequence without any break has been tackled in a way which shows some originality of thinking on the part of the author. Similarly suggestive is his conclusion with regard to the theory, held by some scholars, that the date of Kanishka and similar other problems can be settled in a satisfactory manner on the basis of the varying weights and conditions of preservation of the Roman coins discovered in the Indian subcontinent. His acquaintance with comparative mythology and Indian iconography in particular has helped him to offer a few suggestions about the identification of some of the gods and goddesses depicted on the coins, carefully examined by him. He has also tried to explain how a proper interpretation of certain coin-devices may throw definite light on the personal faith of the Kushāṇa kings and prove their belief in a cult of self-deification. In dealing with these and other allied topics, as suggested by his wide knowledge of the complications of the Kushāṇa coinage, Dr. Chattopadhyay has been duly cautious and guarded. He has complied his materials with minute attention to details on the model of an accurate inventory, which has been made an interesting study through lively discussions about their historical value and significance. He, moreover, shows a critical awareness of some of the recent discoveries, which may substantially change or modify our present ideas about the Kushāṇas and their history. I have no doubt that the usefulness of this book will be widely appreciated.

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Benoy Chandra Sen

INTRODUCTION

Interest in the study of the Kushāṇa coinage originated in the latter part of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, with the discoveries of coins belonging to the Śaka-Kushāṇa dynasties in the Punjab (Mānikiyālā Tope) in 1830 by Gen. Ventura, an Army Officer in the service of Ranjit Singh. In the course of Burneas' explorations on his route to Bokhara and the successful field work of Swiney at Karnal, a number of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins were collected. The publication by Masson of his three Memoirs from 1834 to 1836, on the coins discovered by him in Afghanistan (Begram) may be marked as the beginning of a systematic study of the Kushāṇa coinage. The two most eminent scholars who utilised numismatic materials in their researches on the history and culture of India were Prinsep and Wilson. Masson's reports on his excavations were included in Wilson's Essay on ancient Indian coins in the seventeenth volume of "Asiatic Researches".

In Europe, scholars like M. R. Rochette and M. R. Jacquet took interest in Indian numismatics. A descriptive list of one hundred and forty-three Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins compiled chiefly from the Memoirs of Jacquet and Rochette, was included by Mionette in the eighteenth volume of Supplement to his great work on Classical Numismatics in 1837. In the following year, Lassen published his "Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indo-Skythin chen Konige in Baktrien, Kabul und Indien" from Bonn, which was translated into English by Dr. Roer in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1840. In 1841, Wilson gave a summary of numismatic researches up-to-date, and also treated the numismatic and other archaeological materials in his "Ariana Antiqua".

In the second half of the nineteenth century the dominant figure in the field of numismatic studies was Alexander

Cunningham. His Archaeological Survey Reports (1862-1884) in twenty-three volumes provided a comprehensive survey of the archaeological materials including coins and their geographical distribution. In 1858, E. Thomas edited Prinsep's "Essays on Indian Antiquities". The works of Wilson and Prinsep became outdated when Alexander Cunningham's researches in Indian numismatics were published. His "Coins of Indo-Scythians" and "Coins of Later Indo-Scythians" were published in 1892 and 1895 respectively. In these works are found the first comprehensive and scholarly accounts of the Kushāṇa coinage. Though some of Cunningham's theories are out of date in the light of new discoveries, his observations in general have not lost their permanent value for the study of Kushāṇa coinage.

No comprehensive work on Kushāṇa coinage comparable with that of Cunningham was produced in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The tendency, during this period, was towards collecting and cataloguing of coins. Thus were published Rodgers' "Coins collecting in Northern India" in 1894 and in 1886 P. Gardner's "British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India". In Germany Von Sallet published his valuable work "Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien and Indian" in 1879. In 1897, Prof. E. J. Rapson published his remarkable work "Indian Coins", containing a survey of Indian numismatics including the Kushāṇa coinage, more or less, based on the lines of Cunningham's researches. In 1887, A. Stein published an account of the various types of deities appearing on Kushāṇa coins with his views on their Persian origin.

In the first half of the current century further progress in the study of the Kushāṇa coinage was made by the publication of detailed Catalogues of coins collected in some Indian Museums. The "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum Calcutta", Vol. I, was brought out by Vincent Smith and the "Punjab Museum Catalogue", Vol. I, dealing with the coins of early foreign rulers in India, by R. B. Whitehead in 1914. These and other catalogues published earlier facilitated critical studies in the field of Indian numismatics. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's "Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics" came out in 1921, with valuable suggestions regarding some socio-religious and mytho-religious aspects of the Kushāṇa coinage. Other notable contributions include the late R. D. Banerji's "Prāchīn Mudrā" (in Bengali) in addition to his learned dissertations on Kushāṇa coinage in the pages of the Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the two chapters written by Macdonald and Rapson respectively in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, published in 1922. Rapson's chapter on "Scythian, Parthian and Kushāṇa Kings", in particular, is indispensable in the field of study, covered in the present book.

The excavations at Taxila conducted by Sir John Marshall during the years 1912-'30 brought to light a large number of coins of the foreign rulers of ancient India, including those of the Kushāṇas.

Numismatic materials discovered during the years 1940-1964 bearing on Indian history present problems of diverse interest. Most of them were published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Among Indian scholars whose contributions, during this period, were of special importance, are the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. A. K. Narain and Dr. J. N. Banerjea. In Europe, in recent times, significant researches have been made by Prof. A. L. Basham, Dr. A. D. H. Bivar, Dr. R. Gobl and Dr. D. W. Mac Dowall. International interest was aroused by the debate held on the "Date of Kanishka" in 1960 under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. An earlier seminar was also held about fifty years ago. Its report was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1912.

In spite of the great work already achieved in the field of Kushāṇa history and coinage, it still offers scope for intensive studies on the lines as suggested by the Numismatic Literature July, 1951, published by the American Numismatic Society, in the following remark on Indian Numismatic Studies: "An impressive amount of minute study has been devoted to Indian coins during the last century, but much of this research published in the form of papers in various journals remain unutilised and forgotten".

My interest in the history and coinage of the Kushāṇas started from my Post-graduate days (1954-1956), in the University of Calcutta, when I was studying Indian epigraphy, palaeography and numismatics as my special papers in the subject of Ancient Indian history and culture. During this time, I read almost all the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas, both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī and familiarised myself with different types of their coins noting their peculiar features and affinities with earlier and later coinages of ancient India. The complexity of the Kushāṇa history had a great attraction for me and I became keen on compiling more materials for a thorough study of the subject. After I took my M. A. degree, I served as Exploration Assistant in the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for about eighteen months during which I had the opportunity of acquiring some experience in field-work connected both with exploration and excavation. The knowledege thus acquired proved useful to me in appreciating some of the difficult problems connected with the archaeological sources of the Kushāṇa history.

In view of my continuing interest in the Kushāṇa history, it appeared to me to be the most suitable subject for my research, which I subsequently undertook in consultation with my teacher, Prof. B. C. Sen.

The chapters enumerated below will give some idea of the scope covered in the present work:—

Chapter I: The Yue-chi and rise of the Kushāṇas; Chapter II: Early Kushāṇa Coinage: Coinages of Kadphises I, Kadphises II and Soter Megas; Chapter III:

Development of Kushāṇa Coinage:; Coinages of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva; Chapter IV: Last phase of Kushāṇa coinage: Section I—Coinages of Vasudeva I's successors: Kanishka III, Vasudeva II, the Shākas, the Shilādas and the Gaḍaharas; Section II—Kushano-Sassanian coinage, Kidara-Kushāṇa Coinage and Puri-Kushāṇa coinage; Chaptes V: Representation of Kings on Kushāṇa coins, Chapter VI: Deities on Kushāṇa Coinage; Chapter VII: Metrology of the Kushāṇa Coinage; Chapter VIII: Legends and Symbols on Kushāṇa Coinage; Chapter IX: Provenance of the Kushāṇa Coins; Chapter X: Indian heritage of foreign numismatic traditions.

With the exception of the first chapter which is devoted to a historical study of the connection between the Yue-chi migration as recorded in Chinese literature and rise of the Kushāṇas rest of the book deals almost exclusively with numismatic materials and their interpretation. In fact, my object has been to compile and present in a systematic manner the varied evidences of the Kushāṇa coinage in regard to types, scripts, symbols, metrology, iconography and my theology etc. and to draw conclusions from the data thus collected, having a bearing on socio-economic life, commercial and cultural relations between the East and the West, the personal religion of the Kushāṇa monarchs and their political concepts tinged with religious ideas, the various phases of the evolution of the Kushāṇa currency as well as its deterioration, reflecting the different stages of their rise to power followed by political decline. I have further tried to indicate how the Kushāṇa coinage was influenced by the traditions handed down by the Scythians and the Parthians, their immediate predecessors, whose numismatic impulses had for their source the coinage of their predecessors, the Indo-Greeks. The Kushāṇas not only borrowed some of the typological motifs and features from the earlier currencies, but they also made remarkable original contributions enriching their own coinage during the period of growth. They left an impress on Indian numismatic development continuing upto the end of the Hindu period.

Although much work has already been done in the field of Kushāṇa coinage and history, no attempt is known to have been made before to make a comprehensive and up-to-date study of the subject with almost an exclusive emphasis on numismatic materials on the lines followed by me in the present thesis. The importance of the coins of the Kushāṇas for the solution of many vexed questions relating to the chronology, political and cultural history of the period concerned, has been universally recognised. But they are generally utilised as one of the sources, rather than as an independent field of study which, if so treated, may yield points of special or technical interest that may otherwise be missed. The different chapters of my work will show what results may be obtained by an application of this method.

The evidence which I have been able to gather from an intensive study of the coin-materials is, as I have tried to show, raises questions relating to the probability of there being more than one Kujula Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva, and the identification of Soter Megas with Wema Kadphises, and is also essentially useful in settling the relative chronological position of the Kadphises kings and the Kanishka group. The data furnished by the Kushāṇa coinage, if closely analysed, may show the way to a reasonable solution of these and other connected problems as indicated in this work. I have attempted to show how variations of types, differences in scripts used on coins, metrology, style and fabric actually help in this direction.

In the course of my research I detected some variations in the extant types of the Kushāṇa coinage, not noticed before, requiring a re-arrangement of the types in the classification incorporated in my work. I have made a special study of the deities as represented on these coins, tracing their mythological origins and affiliations and in respect of the representation of kings also, I have tried to make an equally detailed study as a result of which I have been able to offer some suggestions about its bearing on the ideas of kingship held by the Kushāṇa rulers. I may further claim that my examination of the scripts used in the Kushāṇa coin-legends, has been on a far more intensive scale than hitherto attempted. I have added a chapter on the provenance of the Kushāṇa coins, in which not only the question of its importance in determining the limits of the Kushāṇa empire has been discussed, but also the utility of the materials furnished has been considered from the standpoint of its connection with the problem of Kushāṇa chronology, and the specific dating of the import of Roman coins in India.

I could not have possibly thought of undertaking this present work but for the voluminous progress already attained in this field of study due to the labours of a host of scholars, Indian and European, in the past. I have duly indicated my sources, both original and secondary. There is practically no topic on which previous writers have not made some observation or other. I believe, I have not missed at least the more important of the existing theories pertaining to my subject in my attempt to reconstruct a reliable history of the Kushāṇa coinage. My aim has been not only to present every such theory, wherever it is relevant, in outline, but also to analyse it to show how far it agrees with the available data. In this process I have been able to develop some of my own views on connected problems. It may be mentioned here that a vast portion of the literature which has grown around the Kushāṇa coinage is specially related to political history and chronology. In my chapters on the coinages of different Kushāṇa kings, I have also tried to draw conclusions of political and chronological importance, but not without subjecting the current theories to a critical investigation.

It will not be out of place here to give a brief sketch of the history of the Kushāṇas in the background of the contemporary world before we take up the detailed analysis of the Kushāṇa Coinage in the main work.

It was during the rule of the Early Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A. D.) in China that the Yue-chi nomads of Central Asia had been driven from their ancestral abode on the Chinese frontier about 165 B.C. and had begun to settle in the Oxus valley. The Chinese Emperor Wu-ti sent Changkien on a mission to the Yue-Chi territory Tāhia about 125 B.C. It was during the rule of the later Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.) that Kujula Kadphises, head of the Kushāṇa section of the Yue-chi horde, established his authority over the five principalities into which the Ta-hia territory was divided during the final settlement of the Yue-chi. Kujula Kadphises (Kieu-tsieu-kio) attacked the Parthians, took possession of Ki-pin and Kabul and became the master of the Indian borderland extending upto the frontiers of Persia. The so-called joint issues of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises do not suggest that Kadphises was the ally and afterwards the successor of Hermaeus, the last Greek prince of Kabul. Because, the Kabul Valley was in possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the fall of Hermaios and rise ot Kujula Kadphises. The Hermaios-Kujula Kadphises series of coins were most probably issued by Kujula Kadphises to proclaim his relationship with the last Greek King who entered into a matrimonial alliance with Miaus (Heraus), a Kushana Chief. Numismatic evidence suggests that Miaus belonged to the Kushāna section of the Yue-chi tribe and was, probably, an ancestor of Kujula Kadphises.

It is known from the Pereplus of the Erythraen Sea, Ptolemy, Pliny and the finds of Roman Coins in India that Indo-Roman trade and commerce flourished from the first Century of the Christian era and Roman gold flowed to India in exchange of her luxury goods. Some copper coins of Kujula Kadphises bearing resemblance to the Roman denarii of Augustus prove that he ruled in the beginning of the first century A.D, It is suggested that "erjhuna Kapa" in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 (A.D. 45) refers to the name of Kujula Kadphises. A large number of coins of Kujula have been found in Sirkap (Taxila) and the natural inference is that the first Kushāṇa monarch added Gandhāra and Taxila to his other conquests. Parts of his Indian conquests might have been achieved by his son Wema Kadphises during his life time, for the Chinese annalists tell us that Kujula died at an advanced age of eighty and that Wema Kadphises conquered India. That the territories ruled over by Gondopharnes and his associates were snatched away by the Kushāṇas in the time of Kujula Kadphises is attested by numismatic evidences.

Kujula Kara Kadphises of the coins is not different from Kujula Kadphises. Chinese annalists mention the name of Yen-kao-chen, that is, Wema Kadphises as the son and successor of Kujula Kadphises. The new king is credited with the conquest of the Indian interior where he set up a Governor to rule in his name. The nameless king of "Soter Megas" coins was most probably the Viceroy appointed by Wema Kadphises. The findspots of "Soter Megas" coins prove that the Kushāṇa rule extended over the territories lying between the Indus and the Ganges.

The wealth and prosperity of Kadphises II's dominions are illustrated by the fine gold coins that were issued under his orders. The Kushāṇa king struck an abundant issue of orientalised Roman aurei, agreeing in weight (124 grains) with their prototypes. The average weight of the Roman gold coinage was gradually reduced during the rule of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero. It seems highly probable that Wema Kadphises began his rule at least earlier than the pre-reform period of Nero, that is, 64 A.D. The Panjtar stone inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 64) and the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 (A.D. 78) are attributed to Kadphises II.

The device "King sacrificing at an altar" first introduced by Kadphises II in the Kushāṇa coinage bears resemblance to the same device on the coins of the Arsacid King Gotarzes

(40-51 A.D.) of Parthia and thus proves the maintenance of political relations, friendly or hostile, between the Kushāṇas and the Parthians.

Wema Kadphises who was the first amongst the Kushāṇa rulers to extend empire in the interior of India became a convert to Saivism and proclaimed himself as "Māheśvara" on his coins.

Kanishka is usually regarded as a successor of Wema Kadphises, though the exact relation between the two is yet unknown. The continuous reckoning of the kings of the Kanishka group, namely, Kanishka 1-23, Vāsishka 24-28, Huvishka 28-60, Vāsudeva 67-98 shows that Kanishka was the founder of an era. To him is attributed by many scholars the foundation of the Śaka era of A.D. 78. One of the strongest arguments against those who would place him towards the beginning or middle of the second century A.D. is that on this hypothesis Kanishka would be the contemporary of Rudradaman. The Andhau inscription of 130 A. D. shows that Rudradaman was ruling as mahākshatrapa, while the Junagadh inscription proves that he conquered the Sindhu-Sauvira region (Multan) and the Yaudheyas dwelling on the Sutlej. The Sui Vihar inscription informs us that Kanishka's dominions included a portion at least of the lower Indus Valley. How can it be acceptable that two independent sovereigns held suzerainty over the same reign during the same period? Therefore the unavoidable inference will be that Kanishka flourished at the end of the first century A. D. and ascended the throne in 78 A. D., the starting year of the Śaka era. Kanishka was no doubt a Kushāṇa and not strictly speaking a Śaka but the latter designation was used in India in a wide sense to include all kindred tribes.

The Kushāṇas always cultivated friendly relations with the Roman emperors on both political and economic grounds. Friendship with the Romans gave relief to the Kushāṇas from the menace of a powerful neighbouring state, that is, Parthia. Again, the Kushāṇas played a very significant role in the trade and commerce between Rome and China through their territories and thus added to prosperity of their own kingdom. As Rome and Parthia were keen competitors in the East-West trade, the Roman Emperors were very much eager to make the Kushāṇas, in possession of the Valleys of the Oxus, Indus and Ganges, their friends in order to maintain the control over Oriental trade and commerce.

It has been recorded that ambassadors from India presented their credentials in the Courts of the Roman Emperors. Most probably it was Kanishka who sent an embassy to the Roman Emperor Trajan (98-117 A. D.) as a mark of cordial diplomatic relationship. On the strength of this moral support from one of the greatest monarchs of the East, the Roman troops, under Trajan, had beaten the might of Parthia from the field and had reached the Persian Gulf shortly before 117 A. D.

Kanishka himself fought against the Parthians. It has been mentioned in the Buddhist tradition (Chinese Tripitakas quoted by Sylvan Levi) that "when the King of the Parthians wished to close the West to him, Kanishka triumphed over him". Kanishka's military success against the Parthians had been achieved probably before Trajan gained glorious victory against them.

Chinese historians refer to a famous conflict between a Kushāṇa King and the great Chinese general Pan-chao during the reign of the Emperor Ho-ṭi (89-105 A. D.). The Kushāṇa King referred to here was most probably Kanishka who is also credited by Hiuen Tsang with some initial success in Eastern Turkestan in the course of a war with China and detaining of a Chinese prince as a hostage at his Court. It is also recorded in a legend of Kanishka's death published by Sylvan Levi that Kanishka ultimately failed to perpetuate his military successes in the North which remained unsubdued. The engagement of Kanishka with Pan-chao which is more probable than that of Kadphises II in view of available evidences, further strengthens the theory that Kanishka started the Śaka era in 78 A. D.

According to Hiuen Tsang, Kanishka ruled his vast empire from his capital at Purushapura or Peshawar. Epigraphic and numismatic evidences point to the inclusion within his dominions of the wide expanse of territory from Gandhāra and Sui Vihar to Oudh and Benares. Kanishka's clashes with the rulers of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra are vouched for by Tibetan and Chinese writers and the inclusion of Kashmir is probably testified to by Kalhana's Rājataraṅginī. The Sārnāth inscription of the year 3 mentioned Mahākshatrapa Kharapallana and Kshatrapa Vanaspara as Governors of the Eastern part of Kanishka's empire. In the Northern part of his empire were appointed the General Lala and the Satraps Vespasi and Liaka, all of whom are mentioned in the Manikiwala inscription of the year 18.

Kanishka's name is specially associated with Buddhism. The representation of Buddha on his coins, the evidence of the Peshawar casket inscription, his building of the stupas and Vihāras at Peshawar and the convocation of a great Buddhist Council testify to Kanishka's zeal for the religion of Śākyamuni. But whatever might be his personal religious faith, Kanishka's catholicity of mind ever honoured Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Mithraic, Zoroastrian and Brahmanical gods and goddesses worshipped in the different parts of his far-flung empire by their representation on his coins. Among the celebrities, who graced his Court the most eminent was perhaps Aśvaghosha, the author of the Buddhacharita.

The Kushāṇa empire reached its zenith during the reign of Kanishka whose rule lasted for twenty-three years. His immediate successor was Vāsishka who had a short reign. The Kushāṇa dominance over the Śaka rulers of Ujjain and Mahārāshtra for some time is proved by the Sañchi Buddhist Image inscription of Vāsishka of the year 28 (A.D. 106). A Nāsik inscription of Nahapana, it may be pointed out in this connection, contains a reference to Suvarṇa suggesting perhaps the gold currency of the Kushāṇas. No coin of Vāsishka seem to have survived. His imperial titles rule out the theory that Vāsishka was only Kanishka's Viceroy and never ruled independently.

Vāsishka was succeeded by Huvishka whose empire was not less extensive than that of Kanishka. The dominions of Huvishka included Kabul, Kashmir and Mathurā. His Wardak vase inscription of the year 51, Kalhana's testimony of Hushkapura in Kashmir and the Mathurā inscription give a clear outline of his empire. Mathurā was now a great centre of Kushāṇa power. While Huvishka's dates range from 28 to 60, Kanishka of the Ara inscription has as his recorded date the year 41. Kanishka II, known as the son of Vāsishka, held in addition to the titles of great King of Kings and Son of Heaven (devaputra) assumed by his predecessors, the title of Caesar (Kaisara).

The signs of king's deification on the coins and the high-sounding imperial titles used in both inscriptions and coins leave little scope for doubt as to the Kushāṇa belief in the theory of the divine origin of kingship. The Kushāṇas might have derived their notions about kingship from Persian, Chinese and Roman sources.

We have not as yet recognised any coin attributable to Kanishka II.

However, for sometime Huvishka had apparently a colleague or rival in Kanishka II of the Ara inscription. In Kalhana's chronicle we have a reference to the rule of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, apparently identical with Huvishka, Vājheshka (Vāsishka) and his son Kanishka of the Ara inscription. They were the reputed founders of the three cities in Kashmir named after them.

A Mathurā inscription suggests, according to Thomas, the existence of two Huvishkas, Huvishka I being the grand father of Huvishka II. If this theory be accepted, we may place the two Huvishkas in the Kushāṇa genealogy in such a way that one becomes the predecessor of Kanishka II and the other is represented as Kanishka II's successor. The abundant issue of gold coins of Huvishka, the varieties of the obverse and reverse types, two average standards of weight for his coins and the two different spellings of his name as "Ooeshki" and "Ooeshko" on his coins may not rule out the possibility of two Huvishkas.

As regards the religion and religious policy, Huvishka followed in the footsteps of Kanishka I, though Buddha is conspicuous by his absence on his coins. The varied reverse devices of the Kushāṇa coins reflect the religious ideas of the people whom they ruled over.

The last great Kushāṇa king was Vāsudeva I who ruled from about the year 67 to 98 of the Kanishka era. Most of his inscriptions have been found at or near Mathurā, and his coins usually bear the god Śiva and rarely an Iranian deity. It is not improbable that he gradually lost touch with the North-Western provinces and Kushāṇa empire was confined within Mathurā and the adjoining regions. The decline of the Kushāṇa power in the North-West was hastened by the rise of the Sassanid dynasty of Persia.

It is learnt from the history of the Weī dynasty that the Yue-chi power flourishing in Kāpiśa-Gandhāra, Oxus Valley, Kabul and India down to the second quarter of the third century A.D. This reference to four separate kingdoms possibly suggests territorial disintegration. Numismatic evidence only furnishes us with the names of Vāsudeva I's successors, Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. The existence of third Vāsudeva is not vouched for by the evidence of the coins. Chinese sources refer to a king of the Tā-Yue-chi named Po-tiao, identified with Vāsudeva II, who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in 230 A. D.

Epigraphic evidence and the excavations at Begram and Surkh-Kotal are of least help in determining the date of Sassanian conquest of the parts of the Kushāṇa empire. Probably, during the reigns of the Sassanid monarchs Ardeshir I (226-41 A.D.) and Shapur I (241-272 A.D.) the gradual annexation of the North-Western Provinces took place.

Indo-Roman trade which flourished in the first three centuries of the Christian era gradually declined at the end of the third century A.D. Decline in Western trade synchronised with the deterioration in weight and fabric of the Kushāṇa gold coinage and downfall of the Kushāṇa Empire.

One of the causes of the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire was the rise of independent Republics in Eastern Punjab under the Yaudheyas and the Kunindas in the beginning of the third century A.D. Their copper coinage bear a close resemblance to those of the Kushāṇas in both weight and fabric. The Kushāṇa rule in parts of the Jumna Valley seems to have been supplanted by that of the Nāgas who are represented as ruling over Mathurā, Padmāvatī and a few other places in Mid-India contemporaneously with the Guptas of Allahabad, Oudh and South Bihar.

A series of coins closely resembling the issues of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II furnish us with the names of some Chiefs belonging to the Shāka, Shilāda and Gaḍahara tribes. Those Chiefs were ruling in different parts of the Punjab in the third and fourth centuries A. D. The Kidāra-Kushāṇas, known from the Chinese sources and the Kushāṇa type of coinage, came to rule in the Kabul Valley and parts of the Indian borderland in the middle of the fourth century A. D. But they had to rule under the suzerainty of the Sassanids. When Shapur II (309-379 A. D.) besiezed the Roman fortress of Amida in 350 A. D., Indian elephants were under his command. It indicates that in a war with Rome the Kushāṇas fought under the banner of the Sassanids. The evidence of the Armenian historian Faustos proves that the Kushāṇas were engaged for sometime in a war with the Sassanids, most probably in order to establish their sovereign power in their own territories. But the irresistible might of the Gupta arms was soon felt by the Kushāṇas. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta contains the fact that the "Daivaputra Shāhi-Shāhānu-Shāhi" that is, the Kushāṇa monarch or monarchs of the North-West sent valuable presents to the Gupta monarch. The Kushāṇa monarch referred to here might be some Kidāra Kushāṇa Chief or some Chief of the Gaḍahara tribe. The legend "Samudra" on some coins of the Gaḍahara tribe is significant.

The Gaḍaharas are associated with the Kidāra Kushāṇas on numismatic grounds. The "Śaka Muruṇḍas" to whom are attributable the "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Vindyas and some adjoining tracts, also entered into diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta according to the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription.

The foundation of Gupta empire under "Sarvarājo-Chhettā" Samudra Gupta whose aim was the unification of India (dharaṇī-bandha) completely diminished the glory of the descendants of the Kushāṇa monarchs holding imperial titles Devaputra (Son of Heaven) and Shāhānushahi (great King of Kings).

* * * *

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I am painfully aware of the fact that inspite of my care there are some proof mistakes in the book. I crave the indulgence of the learned scholars for these few lapses.

5th October, 1967 Bhaskar Chattopadhyay

ABBREVIATIONS

AIU	... The Age of Imperial Unity.
A. R.	... Annual Report.
A. S. I.	... Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. R.	... Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
B. M. C.	... Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India By P. Gardner, 1886.
B. S. O. S.	... Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
Begram	... Researches archaeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans.
CASR	... Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
Carm. Lec.	... Carmichael Lectures.
Camb. Short. Hist	... (The) Cambridge Short History of India.
CHI	... Cambridge History of India. Vol 1, Edited by E. J. Rapson.
CII	... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Ch.	... Chapter.
Cat.	... Catalogue.
CCAWK	... Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras and Western Kshatrapas.
Comp. Hist. Ind.	... Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II.
D. K. A.	... Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Dev. Hind. Icon.	... Development of Hindu Iconography by J. N. Banerjea.
Dev. Kh. Script	... Development of Kharoshṭhī Script.

Ep. Ind.	...	Epigraphia Indica.
EHI	...	Early History of India.
Ed.	...	Edition.
E. E. C. A.	...	The Early Empires of Central Asia by W. M. McGovern.
Foucher, Afghanistan	...	A. Foucher, Notes sur l’ ininerai re de Hiuen-Tsang en Afghanistan.
GBI	...	The Greeks in Bactria and India.
Gutschmid	...	A. von Gutschmid, Geschichte Irans, 1888.
Hist. Sans. Lit.	...	(A) History of Sanskrit Literature.
IA	...	Indian Antiquary.
I. M. C.	...	Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum.
IC	...	Indian Culture.
IHQ	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
JA	...	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	...	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	...	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	...	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JIH	...	Journal of Indian History.
JNSI	...	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JRAS	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Britain).
JRASB	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JAHS	...	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

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JPASB	...	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MASI	...	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MJLS	...	Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
MMAR	...	Madras Museum Annual Report.
Mus	...	Museum
N. Chron	...	Numismatic Chronicle.
N. S.	...	Numismatic Supplement.
N. H. I. P.	...	The New History of Indian People (Vol. VI).
PMC.	...	Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, by R. B. Whitehead, Vol I, 1914.
Paikuli	...	Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire, 2 Vols (Berlin, 1924) by Herzfeld.
PASB	...	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Ptolemy	...	McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī.
PHIA	...	Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychoudhuri (5th edition, 1950).
P	...	Page
Pl	...	Plate.
Pliny	...	C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalia Historia.
SPIH	...	The Scythian Period of Indian History by Von Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Leiden, 1949.
Vol	...	Volume.
V	...	Verse.
WYLIE	...	Notes on the Western Regions: Trans, of ch. 96, part I and ch. 61, fols. 1-6 of the Tsien-Han-shu of Pan-ku, Journal

		of the Anthropological Institute, Vol XI, 1881.
WYLIE, part II	...	Translation of ch. 96, part II of the above, Ibid, Vol XI, 1881.
ZDMG	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlindischen Gesellschaft.

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CHAPTER I

THE YUE-CHI AND THE RISE OF THE KUSHĀṆAS

The question of the origin of the Kushāṇas is intimately bound up with the history of the Yue-chi tribe that migrated from its original homeland in Chinese Turkestan and settled in Bactria, after various vicissitudes of fortune, in the second century B. C.

The Yue-chi migration:

The early Chinese historians derived their knowledge of the Yue-chi migration from the reports of Chang-Kien who visited the Yue-chi territory in or about 125 B.C. The story of the travels of Chang-Kien who was sent by thg Emperor Wu-ti (B.C. 140-86) on a mission to the Yue-chi was recorded by his contemporary Ssu-ma-chiea, the Chinese father of history (B.C. 145), in Chapter 123 of his classical work, the Sse-ki or "Historical Record". The historian relates that in B.C. 165 the Yue-chi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang country and the Ki-lien mountains, or Tien-Chan Range in Chinese Turkestan.

In 165 B.C. a war broke out between two nomad hordes living on the borders of the Chinese empire, the Yue-chi and the Hiung-nu, in which the former were completely defeated and ousted from their territory. The Yue-chi then marched westward with their flocks and herds in search of lands and pastures. On their way they faced another nomad horde, the Wu-sun. In the fight which ensued, the Wu-sun were wasted and their chief Nan-teou-mi was killed. After this, the Yue-chi still marching westward, attacked the Se or Sok, who abandoned their territory to the Yue-chi and migrated into Ki-pin to the South. But in the meantime, Kwen-mo, son of the deceased Wu-sun chief, had grown up under the protection of the Hiung-nu and attacked the Yue-chi to avenge his father's death. He succeeded in driving the Yue-chi out of their newly acquired lands into Ta-hia or Bactria. The Ta-hia were a settled people in possession of fertile lands on the right of the northern back of the Oxus. The Ta-hia who were devoted to commerce and unskilled in wars, were quickly and easily reduced to subjection. The Yue-chi established their capital to the north of the Oxus.

The adventure of Chang-Kien, as related by the Sse-ki, which work was completed before B.C. 91, are retold in the 96th Chapter of the History of the First Han Dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D. 24) by Pan-ku with three important additions: (1) that the kingdom of the Yue-chi has for its capital, the town of Kien-chi (Lan-shan)...and Ki-pin lies on its southern frontier; (2) that the Yue-chi were no longer nomads, although originally they had been nomads, used to follow their flocks and change their ground with them; and (3) that the Yue-chi Kingdom had become divided into five principalities. Of these five principalities the first was Hieou-mi, having for its capital the town of Ho-me, the second Choung-mo, with a capital town of the same name, the third Kouei-chouang (Kushāṇa), with its capital the town of Hou-tsao, the fourth Hithun having for its capital the town of Po-mao (Bamiyan) and the fifth Kao-fu (Kabul) had its capital of the same name. These five principalities were under the control of the Ta-Yue-chi.

The History of the Second Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) by Fan-Ye (chapter 118) adds: "About a hundred years later the Koei-choang prince Kieou-tsieou-Kio, attacked and subjugated the other four principalities and made himself king of a kingdom which was called Koei-choung. This prince invaded the country of the An-si (Parthians); he took possession of the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul); he destroyed also Po-ta and Ki-pin, and became completely the master of those countries. Kieou-tsieou-Kio died at the age of eighty. His son Yen-Kao-Chen ascended the throne. He conquered Tien-tcnou (India) and there set up generals who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. From this time the Yue-chi became powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushāṇ after their king, but the Han retained the old name and called them the Ta-Yue-chi''.

Now, let us try to fix approximately the dates of the events taking place in the different stages of the Yue-chi migration, as indicated above. After their final defeat in 165 B.C. the Yue-chi migrated to the west and on their way met the Wu-sun. The fight in which the Wu-sun were defeated by the Yue-chi might have taken place in B.C. 163. The Yue-chi next came into conflict with Se or Sok. This probably took place about the year 160 B.C. The Yue-chi were not allowed to remain in peaceful possession of the conquered lands. The son of the slain Wu-sun chieftain, who had grown to manhood, attacked them and drove them further west. Smith places this event in B.C. 140 on the ground that at least twenty years are necessary for an infant to grow into manhood. But an interval of ten or twelve years is sufficient to make a child of four or five years of age quite fit for fighting. Babar ascended the throne when he was in his teens and Akbar fought the Second Battle of Panipath long before he was twenty. Hence, it may not be improbable that it was in or about 150 B.C. that the Yue-chi were defeated by the son of the slain Wu-sun chieftain.[1] It has been suggested that the Yu-chi arrived in Ta-hia in 138 B.C.[2] But this should be 148 B.C. according to the counting adopted above.

Smith and Boyer distinguish between two stages in the conquest of the Ta-hia by the Yue-chi. The first is that the Yue-chi occupied the ancient Persian province of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus, while they exercised supreme influence over the weak rulers of Bactrian cities and the next is that they crossed the river and destroyed the remains of Greek sovereignty in the province. But it seems rather improbable that the Yue-chi remained at a distance to exercise overlordship over a weak people. As they were driven by their enemies, they would not have paused for a moment until they could completely supplant and destroy the people of Bactria. Besides, at this time, Bactria was politically disunited. After the cessation of internal struggles between the two brothers Heliocles and Appollodotus, the Chinese historians tell us, the Bactrian people were unable to offer any resistance to the Yue-chi. Thus it is inexplicable why the Central Asian hordes took such long time in destroying a weak people.

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[1] I.A. vol. 37, 1908, p. 32.

[2] JRAS, 1903, pp. 1-65.

Smith places the deposition of Heliokles in 130 B.C. It is quite likely that the next mention of the Yue-chi is in pan-Ku's Annals of the First Han Dynasty. It is related there that the Yue-chi had lost their nomadic habits and had divided themselves into five groups or principalities. Smith thinks that three generations must have elapsed before the Yue-chi lost their nomadic habits. But, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji, one generation of twenty five or thirty five years is quite sufficient for the purpose. It is quite possible that the Yue-chi had lost their nomadic habits and divided themselves into five groups by the year, 100 B. C. The Moghuls who had fought in the Second Battle of Panipath in 1556, were peacefully settled in Bengal and Bihar in 1598 A. D. The problem cannot be solved satisfactorily unless further information is available regarding the events of the intervening period.

The next mention of the Yue-chi is found in Fan-ye's Annals of the Second Han Dynasty. It is related that one hundred years after the division of the Yue-chi into five groups, Kiu-tsiu-kio, king of Kou-chowang (Kushāṇas) attacked and subjugated the other four principalities. This Kiu-tsiu-kio has been identified with Kujula Kadphises of the coins. Smith places the accession of Kadphises I in 45 A. D. Fan-ye places his reign as a wang or king more than a century after the division of the Yue-chi kingdom in Bactria into five principalities. This shows that the accession of Kadphises I took place in 10 or 15 A. D. As we shall see later, the Roman

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head on his coins was directly imitated from the issues of Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14). If we assume that Kadphises I reigned for forty years, then the accession of his successor, Yen-Kao-Chen. falls in the year 55 A. D. This prince has been identified with Wema Kadphises of the coins.

In the period of the Hou-Han-shu the Yue-chi had settled down in the old Ta-hia country and now represented the old Ta-hia empire, that is, as M. Chavannes puts it: henceforward they are the Ta-hia. This change must have taken place sometime between Chang-Kien's departure and A. D. 25.

The oldest references about the Ta-hia are found in the Shi-ki and the Tsien-Han-shu. According to the former source, Ta-hia was situated more than 200 li south-west of Ta-wan (Ferghana) and south of the Wei Water (Oxus); the people had no supreme ruler, with the various towns having chiefs appointed by them.

It has already been observed that the Chinese ambassador Chang-Kien found the Ta-hia subject to the Yue-chi and Lan-shi in the present Badakshan as their capital. Both the Tsien-Han-shu and the Hou-Han-shu tell us that the Ta-hia was divided into five principalities. But the account of the Hou-Han-shu differs from the Tsien-Han-shu in two in respects; instead of mentioning the five principalities as existing within the Ta-hia country, it says that the Yue-chi divided the Ta-hia empire between five hi-hou, and instead of Kao-fu it gives Tumi, as the name of the fifth principality.

Prof. Marquart in his "Eransahr" has identified Hiumi with the present Wakhan, Sheeangmi with Chitral, Kuei-Shuang with the country immediately to the north of Gandhāra or with Gandhāra itself, Hi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu with Kabul. Tumi should perhaps be substituted for Kao-fu. The five principalities were outside the Ta-hia stronghold in Badakshan, and in districts which were not very distant from the route which the Śakas must have conquered to have followed on their way to Ki-pin.

The third of these principalities was Kuei-Shuang, that is, the Kushāṇa principality situated somewhere between Chitral and the Panjshir country. This Kuei-Shuang principality was made the starting point of a development which led to the establishment of a large empire in India and the Indian border-lands.

Nationality of the Kushāṇas:

In the classical accounts we find a corroboration of the Chines accounts in general. Strabox[3] states that "the best known tribes (of Scythians) are those who deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari and Sakarauli, who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes." The first tribe, the Asiani or the Pasiani of Strabo, is said to have given kings to the Tochari, and to have afterwards subdued the Sakarauli.[4] Sakarauli refers to the Śakas who were driven out by the Tokhari, that is the Yue-chi. The most dominating branch in the Tokhari tribe was probably the Asiani of the Pasiani to be identified with the Kushāṇas.

In India the Kushāṇa princes were generally known as "Tushāras"[5] in Sanskrit, "men of the snowy lands" The spoken form of the name was Tukhāra, which seems to be the original of the Tocharoi of Strabo and Ptolemy, the Tochari of Pliny and Ammianus, and the Tu-ho-lo of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang. The name is still preserved in Tokharistan. In both inscriptions and on coins we find the name "Kushāṇa."

In Kalhana's Rājataraṅginī, Kanishka is described as a Turushka or Turk (Turushkānvaya). In Manikiyala Inscrip-

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[3] Geography, XI 8, 2 ; cf. M'Crindle, J. W., Ancient India as described in classical Literature, Westminister, 1901.

[4] Trogus, Prologue, XLI, XLII.

[5] Mahābhārata and Brihat Saṁhitā.
(XII 65, 13-22: Śaka-Yavana-Tushāra-Pallavas).
Mbb, Sabhā, L. 1850 ; Vana LI, 1991 : Śānti, LXV, 2429 etc. Rām, Kishkindhyā. XLIV, 15, Vāyu, XLV, 118 ; Mār, LVII, 39 etc. Rājataraṅgini.

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tion, he is called "the aggrandizer of the Gushana race" (Saṁvardhaka Gushana Vaṁśa). According to Al-Beruni,[6] Rājā Kanik was the descendant of the Turki chief, Barhatgin, the founder of the Shāhiyā rule in Kābul. He is further described as being dressed like a Turk with high hat and boots.

Arguments in favour of the theory that the Kushāṇas were Turks are based on a study of their features as shown on the coins. Kanishka's features, for example, are characteristic of Turki nationality. He has a pointed cranium, the salient cheek-bones, the large, long and heavy nose, the thick beard. His coins represent him as a powerfully built barbarous king, clad in the loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan.[7] Some of the titles used by Kujula Kadphises in his coin-legends and inscriptions have been explained as Turki. Kadphises I is described as "Yavuga" on some coins and in Chinese the title occurs as 'hi-hou.' This title was identified by Hirth with Turki. "Jabgu" and the inference was drawn that the Kushāṇas were Turks. Also the designation "Kujula" has been explained in a similar way. Hultzsch compared in with the Turki word "Gujhi" meaning 'strong.' Cunningham[8] is an advocate of the Turki nationality of the Kushāṇas, while Sten Konow[9] tries to show that the Kushāṇas were of Śaka origin.

Arguments in favour of the Śaka origin of the Kushāṇas cited by Konow may be stated here. The large nose and other features shown in the likenesses are characteristics of the so-called Homo-alpines, Which is stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan.

The history and ethnology of Chinese Turkestan shows that the Turki element is comparatively late. Several terms and designations used by the Kushāṇas find their explanation in an Iranian language which was once spoken and used in literature in part of Chinese Turkestan. The language spoken and used in Chinese Turkestan is called by Leumann as North Aryan, by M. Pelliot East Iranian, by Kirste Khotani and by Luders and Konow Śaka. The word "Yavuga" found in the form jaüva i.e. zaüva is used by the Śaka Patika. Though it was originally a Turki word tha Kushāṇas took it over from the Śakas. The designation is also used by the Śakas. Of the speech of the Kushāṇas we know nothing except the titles of 'Shāo' and 'Shāo nāno Shāo' and 'Koshāno'. 'Shāo' is a 'Śaka word formed from the same base as 'Shāhi' or 'Shāh' and 'Shāu-nanu' is the regular genitive plural of this word. The word "Kushānu" (Koshāno) is also Śakish. It is the genitive plural of "Kushi", where 'i' is the regular Śaka termination of the nominative and genitive singular. While he has admitted that the words like "Yaüva" were originally used by the Turks, he has emphasised the Śakish influence upon the Kushāṇa speech "Shāonāno Shāo". But the Persian words 'Kshāyathiyānam Kshāyathiā or 'Shāban Shāh' which are equivalent to Indian "Shāhānu Shāhi" and Greek "Basileos Basileon" seem to have direct influence upon the Kushāṇa titles "Shāo nāno Shāo". As these Kushāṇa titles are found to be in use later, the question of the origin of the Kushāṇa may not be possibly settled with their help. The influence of the Śaka language over the language of the Kushāṇa is not improbable in view of the fact that they came into close contact with each other quite early, as indicated by numismatic evidence.

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[6] Sachau's translation, II, 11.

[7] JRAS, 1912, p. 670.

[8] N. Chron. Vol. XII 3rd Series, p. 40.

[9] CII, Vol. II Pt. I Introduction LIII.

A careful study of the Kushāṇa costumes and weapons represented on the Kushāṇa coins shows that the Śakas and the Kushāṇas wore the same dress and fought with the same weapons. The Kushāṇas have nothing in common with those of the Greeks, the Parthians or the Indians. The long central Asian coat is worn by Vima Kadphises, as shown by his money. The coin-image of Wema Kadphises served as the model of the monumental statue of Kanishka which was discovered at Mat near Mathura.[10] Wema Kadphises is shown on his coins as holding heavy mace. Kanishka is represented on his coins with a long sword hanging from his belt and often with a long lance. The armour on some coins of Vāsudeva is plainly the same as worn by the "mounted King" upon the money of Azes and Azilises. As there existed no distinction between the Śakas and the Kushāṇas in costumes and arms, it might be suggested that these two peoples belonged to, or, were parts of that vast complex of nomadic tribes who are now usually called Sarmatians.[11] Inspite of the resemblances mentioned above, the points of differences between the coinage of the Śakas and that of the Kushāṇas cannot be overlooked. Firstly, the Śaka coins show a preference for the worship of Herakles and offer no traces of the worship of Indian and Persian gods and goddesses, while the Kushāṇas, after Kujula Kadphises, adopted the "Sabianism of Bactria with a mixture of Indian worship".[12] Secondly, the Śaka coins are remarkable for the number of their monograms both in Greek and Kharosṭhī characters; an almost total absence of monograms on the Kushāṇa coins is remarkable. Thirdly, while the Śakas did not issue a single gold coin but only silver money, the Kushāṇas issued gold money with a few specimens of silver yieldeq by Marshall's excavations at Taxila.

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[10] JBORS. Vol. 6, 1921, p. 121 ft.

The problem of the Kushāṇa nationality cannot be settled without a re-examination of the relation between the Kushāṇas and the Yue-chi. Pan-Ku's account seems to show that the five hi-hous were the existing principalities of Ta-hia and the Yue-chi assumed suzerainty over them. This seems to imply that the Yue-chi brought the former Śaka chiefs into subjection. When the Tsien-Hon-shu says that "there were five hi-hous," the Hou-Han-shu says that "the Yue-chi divided the land into five hi-hous." We find no reason of throwing overboard the account of the Hou-Han-shu and accepting the account of the Tsien-Han-shu to make the five Yue-chi princes (five hi-hous) five Śaka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yue-chi. The Chinese historians always equate the Kushāṇas with the Yue-chi. The Kushāṇas represented the dominating element among the Yue-chi. The Kushāṇas were probably a tribe sept, a dynastic or a family title.[13]

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[11] JAOS, Vol. 61, 1941, p. 249-250.

[12] N. Chron. IX 3rd Ser. p. 294.

After a careful examination of the two extracts of the Chinese annals, Otto Maenchen Helfen[14] concludes that the five hi-hous, the Kusbāṇas being one of them, were feudatories of the Yue-chi king. The term "Kushāṇa" is derived from "Kusha", or "Kushi". It is suggested that the Yue-chi, the Tochari of the classical writers is another Chinese transcription of Kusha. To the Chinese the barbarians living in the north-west in fourth century B.C. were known as Kusha-Yue-chi. The Kusha were the dominant group. The tribal name was Togar or the like. At an undetermined time the Kusha-Togar came under the Śaka rule. Kusha has been considered as a Tokharian term for "nobles". Thè Śakas called them "Ārśi".

Thus Maenchen Halfen's theory offers a solution to the problem connected with nationlity of the Kushāṇas. There is little doubt about the fact that the Kushāṇas belonged to the Yue-chi stoke. The Yue-chi were brought under the control of the Śakas for sometime, when they may have imbibed the Śaka influence in regard to their costumes and weapons.

The Ta-Yue-chi is explained as meaning the "great Lunar Race."[15] 'Ta' means great and 'Yue' stands for moon. That 'moon' was the presiding deity of the Kushāṇas is proved by the representation of the same on a large number of their coins. The deity bearing different names, Salene, Moa and Manaobago, appears on the Kushāṇa coins with 'crescent behind shoulders.' It may be pointed out that the moon-deity was very popular among the savages of the ancient world. The manner of time-reckoning among them bestowed upon the lunar deity a certain reputation for wisdom.[16] As the moon is also associated with dampness and dews of night, an ancient widespread belief connects her with water.

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[13] GBI, p. 287.

[14] JAOS, 65, 1945. "The Yui-chi problem re-examined".

[15] N. Chron. Vol. III, 3rd Ser. 1893, p. 112.

In folk-lore she is universally associated with rains. As representing water, the universal mother, the moon was regarded as the patroness of fertility. This aspect of the moon was probably much attended to by the Central Asian hordes, the Kushāṇas, when they abandoned their predatory nature and started settled life. Primitive ideas of the moon regard it as equally the cause of vegetable growth with the sun. The work which was accomplished by the sun throughout the day was, according to the primitive beliefs, continued by the moon at night. Side by side with the moon-deity we also find the representation of Mihira, the Sun-god, on a large number of Kushāṇa coins. The appearance of 'Bull' and god Śiva who is known as 'Chandra Śekhara', that is, "one bearing moon on head", is probably very significant from the point of view of the Kushāṇa life. The 'Bull-Bactrian Camel' type of coins probably reflect that the Kushāṇas who were satisfied with agricultural life much depending on bull, still had in their minds the 'Camel', 'the ship of the desert'.

Coinage under the Yue-chi:

From coins we come to learn of various obscure rulers who may have belonged to one or other of the five Yue-chi principalities referred to in the Hou-Han-Shu or "The History of the later Han dynasty." One of them Miaus (or Heraus) was the first chieftain among the Yue-chi to issue a Greek coinage. Other such kings were Hyrcodes, Sapadbizes etc.[17] The coins of Hyrcodes and Sapadbizes etc. which contain Greek elements and bear resemblance to the coins of Miaus at the same time seem to have belonged to the class of coins struck by the Yue-chi at some time subsequent to their settlement at Bactria.[18] The rise of Kujula Kadphises put an end to the rule of these petty kings. Miaus or Heraxus was probably the first Kushāṇa king who gained some military successes making his illustrious successor Kujula strong enough to attack in future the neighbouring kingdoms.

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[16] Lewis, Spence, Introduction to Mythology, p. 127.

[17] GBI, p. 305.

[18] Indian Coins, p. 10.

Miaus is known to us from two silver coins, one of them is preserved in the British Museum and the other in the Indian Museum. The British Museum specimen[19] is a tetradrachm weighing 18.4 grains. It bears on the obverse bust of the king, and on the reverse is represented the king to right on horseback, with bow and quiver tied to the saddle, Nike (Victory) crowning the king from behind. In the field of the reverse to right is "B". The coin has no legend on the obverse. The reverse shows the Greek legend: *TYPANNOYNTOΣMIAOY* (*or HIPAOY*) *ΣANAB KOρρANOY*, with many variants in the spelling. The Indian Museum specimen[20] is an obol weighing 9.8 grains. It has on its obverse the bust of king to right. The reverse of the coin shows a standing deity to right and bears the Greek legend on the right; *ρAIOY* (?) and on the left "*KOρCANO*". The legend on the right is taken also to stand for *MIAOY*. The legend on the left stands for *KOρANO*.

The obols of Miaus are similar to the coins of Hyrcodes[21] both in fabric and portraiture.[22] One type of his coins shows on the obverse the bust of the king and on the reverse a standing deity with spear in right hand and flames on shoulders. Another type shows on the obverse the bust of the king and on the reverse forepart of a bridled horse to right. The reverse device is taken from the early Antiochi of Syria. These coins bear corrupt Greek legends both on the obverse and the reverse. To the same class belong the coins[23] of one king named Sapadbizes. On the obverse of these coins appears the bust of the king to right, with helmet

[19] BMC Pl. XXIV, 7.
[20] IMC. Pl. XIV, 17.
[21] B.M.C. Pl. XXIV, 8-12.
[22] Indian coins, p. 10; GBI. p. 305 n.
[23] B.M.C. Pl. XXIV, 14, 15.

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shaped like that of Eucratides. On their reverse appears a standing open-mouthed lion to right along with the name of the goddess Nanaia (in Greek) whose effigy so frequently occurs on the coins of the Kushāṇas—Kanishka, Huviska and Vāsudeva. These obscure rulers were probably connected with areas which had earlier been under Greek occupation. Miaus was the first chieftain among the Yue-chi to issue a Greek coinage. He was a Kushāṇa, as the legends of his coins show.

Different readings of the legend on Miaus' tetradrachms have been suggested. Gardner who held the Śaka nationality of the ruler read this part as *ΣAKA KOIρANOY*, "Prince of the Śakas".[24] Oldenberg[25] read *ΣAKA-KOρρANOY* "the Śaka-Kushāṇa", regarding the Kushāṇas as a family of the Śakas and the Śakas and the Yue-chi as either the same people, or the Śakas as one of the tribes of the Yue-chi. F. W. Thomas read[26] the first part of the legend as *'ΣANAB'* or *'ΣANAΣ'*, and regarded the first three letters as an abbreviation of the word "Saṁvatsara", the fourth as the Greek numeral equal to 1, and the last as perhaps, denoting some particular mint. Cunningham[27] read *'ΣANAB'* or *'ΣANAOB'*, and *'KOρρANOY'* or *'KOρΣANOY'* comparing the legend of the oboli, which is distinctly *MIAOY KOρΣANOY*, and translated "the Kushāṇa prince", supposing the first word to be the equivalent of a Scythic royal the tittle "Tsanyu" or "Chanyu", equal to the title "devaputra" (Son of Heaven) used by the Kushāṇa monarchs in their inscriptions. But Cunningham's reading does not take notice of "*B*" which stands after *ΣANA*. Those who have given the interpretation to the legend as Śaka, also neglect the letter "*B*". Kirste suggests that '*B*' stands for Middle Persian "*ve*" which means "and". According to him, the legend should read "Śaka and Kushāṇa". But we do not know of any other instance where

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24 B.M.C. Pl. XLVII.
25 Ind. Ant. 1881, p. 215.
26 J.R.A.S. 1883, p. 75.
27 N. Chron. 1888, p. 47 ; 1890, p. 155.

Greek coin engravers have joined the two titles by a middle term (Kai) or have used Middle Persian words for simple Greek ones.[28] However the last word is certainly "Kushāṇa". 'ρ' being the 'sh' sign.

The first part of the legend "Turannountos" meaning "in the reign of the tyrant" indicates that Miaus was not an independent ruler of great power. So. Cunningham's view that Miaus held a title like "Chanyu" meaning Son of Heaven is doubtful. It may be that the Kushāṇa Miaus was one of the five chiefs (yavuga) of the Yue-chi tribe, the chief of the Kushāṇas (Kuei-Shuang) who at this time are said to have been somewhere between Chitral and Panjshir country. The silver coins, tetradrachms and obols, bear legends in Greek only. The attribution of a bilingual copper coin[29] with Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends to Miaus would prove that Miaus ruled also the territory to the south of the Hindukush. This view is strengthened by the fact that all the obols were found in Western Afghanistan. But it is doubtful whether the above attribution can be supported.

The study of the portraits on Miaus' coinage and the introduction of the 'sh'-sign on the same make it possible that the models of those coins were made by the Greek die-cutters in a Greek mint-city. It might be Kapiśa, one of the Greek mint-cities of that time, where those models were made. Possibly, this was done by the order of the last Greek king Hermaeus who held sway over the Kafiristan and Kabul regions. Possibly Hermaeus was friendly towards the Kushāṇa Miaus. He might seek an alliance with the Kushāṇa chief in order to strengthen his position against the powerful Śakas on his eastern and southern border and also to protect his kingdom from the Parthians on the south-west. It is not unlikely, as suggested by Tarn,[30] that Hermaeus gave the Kushāṇa his own sister in marriage. Miaus flourished possibly, as his contemporaneity with Hermaeus shows, in latter the part of the first century B.C.

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[28] GBI, p. 342, 506.

[29] N. Chron. 1888, Pt. III, 13.

[30] GBI. p. 342.

Miaus was possibly an ancestor of Kadphises I. Either he was the father and predecessor or grand father of Kujula Kadphises. Cunningham[31] suggested that this Miaus may be the adventurer Yin-mo-fu to whom the Chinese records attribute the conquest of Ki-pin. According to him, Miaus was not a Śaka king, but the chief of the Kushāṇas who belonged to the Yue-chi tribe. He was possibly the father as well as predecessor of Kujula Kadphises, who united the five tribes of the great Yue-chi. Ghirshman[32] also supports the same view. Tarn[33] opines that Miaus, a contemporary of Hermaeus, was the grand father of Kujula Kadphises who invaded the Paropanisadae not as a foreign conqueror. Kadphises I issued the Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises coins to proclaim to his Greek subjects that he was their lawful ruler by hereditary relationship to their last king Hermaeus whose relative (sister ?) was married by the Kushāṇa Miaus.

Some facts seem to lend support to Cunningham's suggestion that Miaus may have been identical with Yin-mo-fu, the King of Ki-pin. The T'sien-Han-shu, 96a, 10-12 gives a brief history of Ki-pin which may have some bearing on the earliest history of the Kushāṇas as shown below.

The relations of China with Ki-pin began at the period of Wu-ti (140-85 B. C.). Due to geographical reasons, it was difficult for the Chinese troops to be despatched to the country. Its ruler, Wu-tou-lao, had killed several Chinese envoys on different occasions. When Wu-tou-lao died, his son succeeded to the throne. He sent envoys to bring tribute. The official in the frontier district, Wen-Chang, accompanied these envoys. The prince had designs against We-Chang. Wen-Chang became aware of it and opened negotiations with the son of the prince of Jung-Ku, by name Yin-mo-fu. Both attacked Ki-pin on a concerted plan and killed its princes, whereupon Yin-mo-fu was appointed prince of Ki-pin. The incident occurred during the reign of the emperor Hsuan-Ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B.C. In the reign of Yuan-ti (48-33 B.C.), Yin-mo-fu killed the escort of a Chinese envoy and later on sent ân envoy to appologise for the act. In the reign of Cheng-Ti (32-7 B.C.) other envoys were sent to China from Ki-pin, possibly by Yin-mo-fu.[34]

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[31] N. Chron, p. 51.
[32] Begram, p. 116.
[33] GBI, p. 506.

Yin-mo-fu was not the Śaka king who being pressed by the Yue-chi, entered Ki-pin. Yin-mo-fu's occupation of Ki-pin cannot be, in any case, dated prior to 73 B.C., while the Sai-Wang started migration long before this date, earlier than the embassy of Chang-Kien. Yin-mo-fu's rise in Ki-pin probably indicates the overthrow of the Śaka King in that region, and the establishment of a new dynasty[35], in his place.

Miaus probably occupied Ki-pin a temporary period. It was re-occupied in the time of his successor Kujula Kadphises. Hermaeus, the last Greek king, who was a contemporary of Miaus may have found it profitable to enter into an alliance with the latter. The rise of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa, as the leader of the Yue-chi tribes, was not unexpected as the foundations for it had been well laid by his predecessor Miaus.

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[34] Wylie, p. 36.

[35] EECA, p. 208.

CHAPTER II

EARLY KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

Coinage of Kadphises I.

Kujula Kadphises is the first Kushāṇa monarch about whom we know something definite. The Hou-Han-shu tells us, as it has already been noted, how the Yue-chi divided the Ta-Hia Kingdom between the five hi-hous, namely Hieu-mi, Chuang-mo, Kuei-shuang, Hi-thun and Kao-fu. More than a hundred years later, the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang called Kiu-tsiu-Kio attacked the four other hi-hous and made himself king. Kiu-tsiu-Kio is identified with Kujula Kadphises known from coins. He was the chief of the Kushāṇas. His first achievement was the political unification of Ta-hia or Bactria under the domination of the Kushāṇas. After making his position as king (wang) of the Kushāṇas secure in Bactria, he started his military campaigns for expanding the Kushāṇa power in India. It is reported that he attacked the Parthians (An-si) and took possession of the territory of Kabul (Kao-fu), overcame Po-ta which is to be identified probably with the country of Butkhak, ten miles east of Kabul, and also conquered Ki-pin and became completely master of these kingdoms. The Chinese texts, as Sylvain Levi has proved, distinguish Ki-pin from Kao-fu or Kabul. The geographical signification of Ki-pin is supposed to have varied in the past. In the seventh century, in the time of the Tang dynasty, it generally meant Kapiśa or North-western Afghanistan. Sten Konow holds that in Han times Ki-pin meant Gandhāra (the region including Taxila and Takht-i-Bahi)[1]. Smith accepts Konow's view and relinquishes his earlier view that Ki-pin signifies Kashmir[2]. Watters[3] points

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1 EP. Ind. XXI. 258.
2 EHI. p. 267.
3 On Yuan Chwang. i 249.

out that in many Chinese texts Ki-pin is a geographical term of vague and varying extension and not the description of a particular country, the name being used in different works to denote Kapiś, Nagara, Gandhāra, Udyāna or Kashmir. However, it seems that the empire of Kujula Kadphises extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus, and included Sogdiana (modern Bokhara) with probably all the territories in modern Afghanistan.

Kujula Kadphises issued many copper, and very few silver coins. Of the coins of Kadphises I, the most striking one is the Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises type. This type of coins places before scholars a puzzle almost baffling all efforts for its final solution. The question is naturally asked whether Kadphises I was associated with the Greek King Hermaeus or not, when the Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises type of coius come to our close notice.

The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises Coins may be divided into two series: (1) In the first series of the type, Hermaeus with his own name and bust appears on the obverses of the coins and the name of Kujula Kadphises is found on their reverses.

(2) In the second series of the type, bust of Hermaeus still appears on the obverses of the coins but the name of Kadphises in Greek is found by the side of the bust. On the reverses of the coins also the name of Kujula Kadphises appears in Kharoshthī.

The evidence supplied by the coins of this type, seems prima facie to be conclusive in showing that Hermaeus was compelled to associate with one Kujula Kadphises in his government towards the end of his reign, and that the new partner in the administration eventually supplanted him either in his life or soon after his death.

Cunningham[4] was of the opinion that Kujula Kadphises was the overthrower of the last Greek king as the name of Greek Hermaeus is found associated with that of Kadphises I on the same coins. Vou Lohuizen de Leeuw[5] also opines that Kujula Kadphises struck coins with Hermaeus.

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[4] N. Chron. 3rd series Vol. XII. 1892, p. 40.

But Rapson[6] has shown that some time may have elapsed between the reign of Hermaeus and that of Kujula Kadphises.

The Kabul valley was in the possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the downfall of Hermaeus and the rise of Kujula Kadphises. The last issues struck by Hermaeus during the concluding days of his reign, when his power was tottering, are those which bear his old age bust on the obverse and Heracles standing on the reverse. This type was later on mechanically copied by Kadphises I. In the beginning he was content to have his name on the reverse. But later on he put it on the obverse also. This coin type was continued by Kadphiṣes I until a much later date for reasons similar to those that led the East India Company to continue for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam. The people were accustomed to this type and the new conqueror realised that it would be suitable if the currency resembled the old one in its essential features.

Archaeological and other evidences show that the Parthian rule intervened between the Indo-Greek and the Kushāṇa rule. Sir John Marshall's[7] discoveries at Taxila show that Kadphises I was later than Gondopharnes. Coins of the Parthian king Gondopharnes were found in great abundance at Begram and other sites in the Kabul valley. But no coin of his successor, Pacores has been found in those places. From this it may be inferred that the Parthian rule in the Paropanisadae came to an end after the death of Gondopharnes. Internal dissensions led to the disintegration of the Parthian empire. In addition to this there were other factors hastening its downfall, as shown in the later Han Annals. It is said in the Chinese

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[5] SPIH p. 32.

[6] CHI Vol. I. Indian reprint 1955, p. 507.

[7] Taxila, Vol. IP 66-75.

Annals that Kujula Kadphises (Kiu-tsiu-Kio) invaded Parthia (An-Si), seized Kabul (Kao-fu), conquered Pu-ta and Ki-pin and established himself in possession of all these territories. That the conquerors who snatched away Kabul from the last Indo-Greek ruler were the Parthians of Kandahar is made probable by the evidence of the coins issued by Spalirises with the characteristic device of the Greek kings of Kabul, that is, "Zeus enthroned".[8] It is corroborated by the writings of Justin who states that the Bactrian Greeks were finally oppressed by the Parthians. Thus it will appear that between the last Greek king and the first illustrious Kushāṇa ruler there was an appreciable interval of time.

Relying on this view, some scholars believe that there was an alliance between the last Greek king and Kujula Kadphises. It is held that Kadphises I began his career as a subordinate ally of Hermaeus and that success against the Parthians was achieved by him as a champion of the cause of his deceased overlord.[9] Tarn[10] imagines a matrimonial alliance between Hermaeus and an ancestor of Kadphises I. The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises type of coins, according to Tarn, are pedigree coins, like those of Antimachus, Agathocles and Eucratides. These were used for propaganda purposes. Kadphises I who had snatched away Kabul from the Parthians, proclaimed his blood relationship with the last Greek king, in order to be more acceptable to the Greeks of that country. By issuing those pedigree coins, Kadphises I tried to prove that he was not a foreigner but a lawful king of the Greeks. Tarn supposes that Hermaeus gave his sister in marriage to a Kushāṇa chief Miaus who was the grand father of Kadphises I. This suggestion of a matrimonial alliance between Hermaeus and an ancestor of Kadphises I is also hinted at by Cunningham.[11] Ghirshman[12] proposed to regard Heraus (Miaus) as the father

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[8] CHI, Vol. I, Pl. VII, 38.
[9] AIU. p. 138n.
[10] GBI. p. 504.
[11] N. Chron, 3rd series, Vol. 10, p. 114.
[12] Begram, p. 116.

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of Kadphises I. As we have already discussed in the previous chapter, there might be some relationship between Miaus and Kadphises I. But we have not sufficient materials at our disposal to prove that there was a matrimonial alliance between Hermaeus and probably his contemporary Miaus, who was most probably the predecessor of Kadphises I. This is a mere conjecture on the part of those scholars who recognise an interval between the overthrow of the last Greek king and the rise of Kujula Kadphises, but, at the same time, imagine a close association between the two on the basis of the Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises coins.

It seems to be true that it was until at least seventy years after the death of the last Greek king Hermaeus that the Kabul valley passed from the Parthians to the Kushāṇas, the next suzerain power in Afghanistan and North-West India. Hermaeus may have been reigning for some time before and after 40 B. C. as indicated by the use of the square omicron on his coins. The date of Kadphises I is not earlier than 50 A. D., for he was rather later than Gondopharnes who ruled in Kabul from 19 A. D. to 45 A. D. The copper coins with the bust of Hermaeus and his name and titles in corrupt Greek on the obverese, and Heracles and the name of Kadphises I in Kharoshthī on the reverse, were not joint issues. These were actually the continuation of the Parthian imitations of the coins of Hermaeus by the Kushāṇa chief (Yavuga) who, according to the Hou-Han-shu, destroyed the Parthian power in Kabul.

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The comparative prosperity of the early part of Hermaeus' rule is proved by his earliest coins, both of silver and copper, for these were of good style and execution. They bear the diademed bust of the king with the Greek legend, "Basileus Soteros Ermaiou" on the obverse, and enthroned Zeus and the Prakrit equivalent of the Greek, "Maharajasa tradatasa Heramayasa" on the reverse. Early forms of the Greek letters occur on them. On other coins of the same type, the round form of omicron gives place to the square form. Their silver is now much alloyed and the execution is indifferent.

They appear to indicate the beginning of his troubles. The alloyed coins in their turn are succeeded by barbarous copper issues in some of which the word "Soteros" is blundered as "Sterossu" and rendered in Prākrit as "mahatasa" on the reverse. The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises coins resemble the debased copies of Hermaeus' coins issued by the Parthians after his death.

We have three groups of coins with the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse issued by Kadphises I. All the coins are of copper metal and round form.

Group I (B. M. C. p. 120-1):—

On the obverse occurs diademed bust of Hermaeous to right. Above, in Greek, "Basileus Sterossu", below, "Ermaiou". The legend is often found corrupt. "Sterossu" should stand for 'Soteros'. Here we find square omicron but no other square letter. Legend means "(Coin) of King Hermaeus, the saviour".

On the reverse stands Heracles facing with lion's skin on left arm and with club in right hand resting on the ground. The legend in Kharoshthī is "Kujula Kasasa Kushaṇa Yavugasa Dhramaṭhidasa" which signifies, 'Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa Yavuga (Chief) or leader of the Kushāṇas, who is devoted to religion'. The language of the legend is Prākrit.

Group II (B. M. C. p. 122):-

On the obverse occurs the diademed bust of Hermaeus to right and a Greek legend usually mutilated. The correct legend reconstructed is: "Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshsonou" which means "(Coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa." Here, besides square omicron, we have square sigma and phi which one associates with the coins of Gondopharnes.

On the reverse is Heracles, standing to front, with right hand resting on club, and lion's skin on left arm. The legend in Kharoshthī script and Prākrit language is: "Kujula Kasasa Kushaṇa Yavugasa Dhramaṭhidasa". It stands for

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Sanskrit "Kujula Kasasya Kushāṇa yavugasya dharmasthitasya". The meaning has already been given above. In the field of the reverse, is found a Kharoshthī letter "Saṁ".

A variation[13] of this class is noticeable. On the reverse of some coins we have a standing deity, probably Heracles, with head turned towards right. All other features are the same. Again there is another variation[14] of this type, on the obverse of which is found bust of Hermaeus to left.

Group III (B. M. C. p. 174; P. M. C. 85).

On the obverse is represented bust of Hermaeus with a Greek legend 'Baseleus Sterossu Ermaiou' which means "(Coin) of King Hermaeus, the saviour". Here we find round omicron and no square letter at all.

On the reverse is Nike (Goddess of victory) holding wreath. The Kharoshthī legend is: "Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahataṣa Heramayasa", which means "(Coin) of Hermaeus, the great, King of Kings." The same type of silver coins were issued by Miaus, the Kushāṇa chief. The only difference in the case of Miaus' coinage in the presence of king on horse-back along with Nike on the reverse.

The coins of "*Bust of King and Nike type*"[15] made of silver were found in the excavations of Taxila. These coins are attributed to Kadphises I. On the obverse of the coins is bust of king to left with conical head-dress. The Greek legend is corrupt: 'Xop' (Chosh). On the reverse is Nike (Goddess of victory) to left holding wreath and palm-branch. The Kharoshthī legend may be reconstructed by joining the broken pieces found on different coins thus: "Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Khushaṇasa Ya (vugasa)". It is interesting to note that the title "Yavuga" is found side by side with the imperial titles like "Maharaja", "rajatiraja" etc. Kujula Kadphises started his career as a "Yavuga". The use of the old title by the side of other glorious titles is made possibly with an intention to bear witness to a feeling of pride at the success which led him from such humble beginning to the position of a great king, king of kings, master of the famous town of Taxila. On the reverse we find Kharoshthī "bhu" which seems to be the mintmark.

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[13] P. M. C. Kushāṇa Coin No. 14.

[14] Taxila, Vol. II, p. 792.

[15] Taxila, vol. II, p. 820.

Rapson associates these coins with Wema Kadphises[16], the successor of Kujula Kadphises. But the presumption that they belong to Kadphises I is strengthened by the word Xop... (Kushna) on the obverse of the coins. It is a link with the money of Kadaphes[17] who is identical with Kadphises I. Besides, the title "Yavuga" confirms the identity. The bust on the obverse of the coin seems to be replacing the Parthian bust adding to it Kushāṇa head-dress. So it seems to be the bust of Kadphises I who overthrew his Parthian predecessor. The coins of this type were probably struck after the conquest of Taxila, partly in imitation of the coins of the Gondopharnes dynasty, where royal busts are a common feature on the obverse. The silver coins of this type were probably struck to replace the silver coinage of the conquered Parthian chiefs.

It has been stated by Rapson that most of the coins of Kadphises I were struck in the Kabul Valley, as it is shown by their types and fabric. But it should also be noted that more than two thousand and five hundred coins of Kadphises I have been found in Taxila[18]. Hence the inference is natural that Kadphises I conquered Gandhāra and Taxila in addition to his other territorial conquests. This possibility cannot be altogether ruled out. But it seems to be more probable that Wema Kadphises, successor of Kujula Kadphises, was the actual conqueror of Taxila and the rest of the Punjab, if not of Gandhāra. The Hou-Han-shu, after mentioning Kujula's conquests of Pu-ta and Ki-pin, tells us that he lived to be over eighty years old and was succeeded by his son Vima (Yen-

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[16] CHI, vol. I, p. 581-82.
[17] P. M. C., p. 181-2.
[18] Taxila, I. p. 67.

Kao-Chen), who in his turn conquered India (Tien-tchou) and established there a chief for governing it. It might be that during the old age of his father Kadphises I. the crown-prince Wema Kadphises conquered Taxila and made use of Kujula's coinage. So, the stratification of Taxila does not necessarily imply that the coins of Kujula Kadphises are later than those of Gondopharnes. It is by no means impossible that Kujula Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes.

However, a remarkable hoard of coins from Taxila was found to contain two types of Gondopharnes, one of Pacores and one of a Kushāṇa king who was most probably Kadphises I. The first two types bear the portrait and symbol of Gondopharnes with the names respectively of his viceroys Sapedana and Satavastra who are styled 'great king, king of kings' and were apparently ruling as independent rulers. The coins of Pacores have on the reverse the name of the great king Sasa, son of Aspa's brother, who had originally been a viceroy of Gondopharnes, the predecessor of Pacores. The find of the coins of Kujula Kadphises, "the great king, supreme king of kings, the Kushāṇa chief[19], along with those of Gondopharnes and Pacores may be regarded as indicating the extirpation of the Parthian rule from the Taxila region by the Kushāṇas.

Kujula Kadphises issued copper coins in large number with his titles "Yavuga" and "Kushāṇa". These coins bear Greek legends on the obverse and Kharoshthī legends on the reverse.

"*Diademed Head and Enthroned King type*" of coins bear on the obverse diademed head to right and the legend in Greek: "Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadphes", which means "(Coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa". The diademed head represented here bears close resemblance to the head of Augustus found on Roman coins,

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[19] Prof. Rapson thinks that he is Wema Kadphises, son and successor of Kujula Kadphises.

On the reverse of these coins the king is found seated to right on a seat resembling a curule chair and his right hand has been extended. In left field is found a Kharoshthī monogram which is probably a mint-mark. The legend on the reverse is in Kharoshthī "Kushanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphsasa sacha-dhramaṭhidasa." The language of the legend is Prākrit. If it be translated into Sanskrit, it stands "Kushaṇasya Yavugasya Kujula Kapasasya Satyadharma-sthitasya," which means, "(Coin) of Kujula Kaphsa, the leader of the Kushāṇas, who is devoted to true religion". Some scholars think that "satyadharma" does imply the religion of Buddha. But there is some scope for doubt in this interpretation. "Satyadharma" is not exactly like the word "Sat-dharma" which is usually applied to Buddhism.

The resemblance of the portrait of Kadphises I to that of Augustus is very striking. No doubt, it is a copy of the Roman coins of Augustus. Probably Kadphises I was either a junior contemporary of the Roman emperor or came later than him. The rule of Augustus ranged from 27 B. C. to 14 A. D. It seems certain, therefore, that Kadphises I reigned in the beginning of the 1st century A. D[20]. Some supposed that these coins of Roman type were issued from some particular mint of Kujula Kadphises[21]. Cunningham found a vareity of this type of coins with Nike on the reverse. But he lost it by a shipwreck, as he has informed us.

In this connection, it may be noted that on the reverse of the coins of the Kushāṇas, representation of deities is the common feature. But here on the reverse of the coins is found the representation of an enthroned king according to the numismatists' description. The figure on the coin is badly designed. We cannot rule out the probability of representation of "Zeus enthroned", the device very often presented on the later Greek and Parthian coins. It is more probable when the particular coins have been influenced by

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20 B. M. C. Introduction to "Kushana coins".

21 N. Chron, Vol. XXII, 3rd series, p. 46.

Roman coinage. The obverse design has been a copy. The representation of Zeus on the reverse is not improbable. V. Smith, in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian museum (Vol. I) has described the reverse in the following way: "King (or ? deity) seated to right on a seat" etc.[22] Kujula Kadphises cannot represent himself as "King enthroned", when he describes himself simply as "Yavuga", or leader of the Kushāṇas. His son Wema Kadphises who held the title "Basileus" in Greek and "Maharaja rajatiraja" in Prākrit, was more entitled to issue "Enthroned King" type of coins in large number. Actually, he issued a large number of coins of this type.

On all these coins Kujula Kadphises declares himself as "Kushaṇa Yavugasa" in Kharoshthī and "Khoshansu Zaoou" in Greek, which mean "of the Yavuga of the Kushāṇas". The title "Yavuga" has been regarded by Hirth as a Turki word 'javgu'. Sten Konow thinks that the word was taken over from the old Śakas[23]. The word 'yavuga' seems to have been used in the form of 'Jaüva' i. e. probably Zaüva by the Śaka Patika. The title is transliterated in Chinese as 'he-hou' which may have been derivative of a Tocharian word "Yavgu" is taken to mean "leader". 'Kozola Kadaphes' is merely a variant of 'Kozolou Kadphizou', from a compound name Kujula Kadphises[24]. 'Kujula' is a title like the 'Kusuluka' of the Śaka Satrap Liaka, and Kadphises was probably the proper name. Cunningham has equated the title 'Zaoou' with 'Shaoun' which the Chinese give to the Yue-chi. According to him, on the later coins of Kanishka it was shortened into 'Shāo'[25]. But the meaning of 'Yavuga' should be leader and not king as implied by Cunningham's interpretation. Because the Chinese Annals introduce Kujula Kadphises as leader of the Kushāṇas, one of the five Yue-chi tribes.

[22] IMC, Vol. I, Kushana coin no. 6.
[23] CII, Vol. 2, pt. I, Historical Introduction. p. 11.
[24] JRAS 1912, p. 669, 1002-3.
[25] N. Chron. Vol. XXII, 3rd series, p. 40.

The name 'Kushāṇa' is found on coins in several different forms. In Greek coin-legends we have 'Koshanou' and 'Koshansu'. In Kharoshthī coin-legends we come across 'Kushana' and 'Khushana'. In Central Asian Kharoshthī documents are found the forms like 'Kushuna' and 'Kurshana'. In a Brahmī inscription from Mat near Mathura we find the form 'Kushāṇa'. A similar form seems to be represented by the Chinese "Kuei-shuang". All these forms point to an adjective formed with a suffix 'āṇa' from a base 'Kusha' which is found mentioned in connection with the description of Kanishka's family (Kula) in the Sanskrit Buddhist text 'Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā' of Kumāra-lāta. Baron A. Von S. Holstein[26] is of opinion that the adjective 'Kushāṇa' does not exist, the form being everywhere the genitive plural of 'Kusha'. Forms such as "Khushaṇasa" he explains as 'Kushāṇa sa' i. e. 'Shāh' or king of the Kushas. But it seems that 'Khushaṇasa' should be regarded as the Prākrit form which when transferred into Sanskrit, stands as "Kushāṇasya'. The meaning of 'king' is not implied here. Holstein saw in 'Kusha' the same word which the Chinese, render as "Yue-chi". But Konow observes: "the Kushas or Kushāṇas were a tribe or family within a larger group which was the Yue-chi[27]. It has been suggested by Bailey[28] that the etymological analysis of the word 'Kushāṇa' convinces us that Kuci-Kusha, Kusha and Yue-chi were all derived from a Tocharian word which meant "white, bright" indicating moon. We endorse the view of Bailey on numismatic grounds. On many coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are found the representation of 'MaO' and 'Manaobago', the moon-gods.

It might be that moon was the tutelary deity of the Kushāṇas. That is why, the god is so widely represented on the Kushāṇa coins. We should not lose, however, sight of the fact, that the Kushāṇas were a tribe or family affiliated to a larger group which was the Yue-chi. This is borne out by the Hou-Han-shu or "The history of the Later Han Dynasty", as it has already been noted above.

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[26] JRAS 1912, p. 79.

[27] CII, Vol II, Part I, Historical Introduction. p. XLIX.

[28] BSOS London., 1937, p. 900.

Kujula Kadphises issued a number of coins bearing the name Kujula Kara Kadphises along with full-fledged imperial titles like 'Maharaja rajatiraja' (king of kings). His "*Bull and Bactrian Camel type*" [29] of coins bear on the obverse humped bull, standing to right. Above, is found a 'Nandīpāda symbol'. "Remains of corrupt and illegible Greek legend. In right field a specimen of Kharoshthī monogram." On the reverse is found a two-humped Camel, standing to right. "Remains of the Kharoshthī legend". In some coins it is read as "Kushaṇa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa" meaning "(Coin) of Kujula Kara Kaphsa (Kadphises), the Kushāṇa".

According to Cunningham [30] the full legends are: —

(1) Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula-Kara Kaphsasa (Mahārājasya rājarājasya devaputrasya Kujula Kara Kapsasya).

(2) Kuyula Kara-Kapasa maharayasa rayatirayasa (Kujula Kara Kapasya Mahārājasya rājātirājasya).

(3) Maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula Kaphsa (Mahārājasya Mahatah Kushāṇa Kujula Kaphasya).

(4) Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphsa (Mahārājasya rājātirājasya Kujula Kaphasya).

This particular type suggests Kadphises I's association with Bactria. The two-humped camels were found on the banks of the Oxus. They were used in that country for transport purposes in the deserts. The bulls were domestic animals. They were used for cultivation of lands. More than that the bull represented on those coins is associated with the Nandipada symbol. It probably suggests the king's inclination towards Śaiva faith. Probably it is the theriomorphic representation of Śiva. Later on, on the coins of Kadphises II, Śiva appears along with his 'vāhana'. We think, on the basis of these coins, that Kadphises I's description as "satyadharma sthita" (devoted to religion of truth) on his other coins probably implies his faith in Śaivism.

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[29] B. M. C. pl. XXIII, 7 P.M.C. Kushana coin No. 18.

[30] N. Chron. Vol XII, 3rd series 1892, p. 66.

On these coins we find some imperial titles like "Mahārāja rājātirāja" etc. along with a variation of the name of Kadphises I, that is, "Kujula Kara Kadphises". Rapson[31] considers Kujula Kara Kadphises (Kujula Kara Kapa) to be different from Kujula Kadphises, and states that he "seems to have succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī, and he may have been contemporary with Wema Kadphises". Cunningham[32] has conjectured that Kujula Kara Kadphises might have been the eldest son and immediate successor of Kujula Kadphises, and the predecessor of Wema Kadphises. Sir John Marshall[33] associates the "Bull and Camel" type of coins with Wema Kadphises and not with Kujula Kadphises for the reason that the word "Kāra" has been interpreted as the equivalent of 'Kala', which was used at somewhat later date in Turkestan with the meaning of "prince". According to Marshall these coins were issued by Wema Kadphises as crown-prince during his father's life-time. But there are good reasons for holding the view that the coins are to be ascribed to Kujula Kadphises. Firstly, the imperial titles "Maharaja, rajatiraja, rajaraja, Mahata etc., found with the name of the king on these coins precludes the idea of his having been a subordinate ruler, as Rapson thinks. The Chinese Annals tell us of only two old Kushāṇas with imperial power. Secondly, a Sirkap[34] coin of Kadphises I, showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse, has the Kharoshthī legend: "(Ku)jula Kara dhramathi..." Another person than Kujula Kadphises cannot be imagined in this case, only because we find the word "Kara" after Kujula.

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[31] CHI Vol. I, Indian Reprint 1955, p. 525n; Indians coins, p. 17.

[32] N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, p. 45.

[33] Taxila, Vol. I, p. 68.

[34] Taxila, Vol. II, p. 817, Rare and unique coin no. 226.

Kara may be a title of a similar kind as the unexplained word "Kala" preceding "Kushaṇasa" in the Niya document[35] no. 339. Besides that "Kara" is not found on all the coins of "Bull and Bactrian Camel" type.

However, we find that Kadphises I who started his career as "Yavuga" has begun to hold imperial titles like "Maharaja rajatiraja" etc. Probably it bears witness to change of political position of Kadphises I after his conquest of An-si, Kao-fu, Pu-ta and Ki-pin. Along with other imperial titles Cunningham[36] has read "Devaputra" on two specimens of the "Bull and Bactrian Camel" type. But on the Indian Museum specimens of this type the legend is found blurred. It is difficult to improve upon the reading suggested by Smith: "Kushana Kujula Kara Kaphsasa." The readings suggested by Whitehead in his Punjab Museum Catalogue Vol I are the following:— "...rasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa..." (Kushana coin No. 18). What should be prefixed before "...rasa"? The blurred portion cannot be reconstructed as either 'Maha' or 'raja'. So the only alternative may be "Devaput." That "rasa" after "devaput" gives us "devaputrasa", as it is read by Cunningham on his two specimens. Unfortunately I am unable to examine the particular specimen of Lahore Museum due to practical difficulties. However, we hear from F. W. Thomas[37] that Mr. Allan re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read "devaputra" and asserted that it never appears on the Kushāṇa coins. Its reading on a coin of Kujula Kara Kadphises is an error. The title 'Devaputra' is generally equated with "Son of Heaven" used by the Chinese Emperors. Thomas has shown that the 'Devaputra' title is thoroughly Indian in character, and it was current only among the Indian subjects of the Kushāṇas and therefore with its Indian meaning.[38] The Pali Jataka

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[35] CII. Vol. II, Part I, Historical Introduction, p. LXV ; SPIH, p. 374.

[36] N. Chron. Vol. II, 3rd series, p. 45.

[37] B. C. Law Volume, Part II, p. 307.

[38] Ibid, p. 308.

Commentary (III. p. 261) sometimes identifies the term "Deva" and "Devaputra" (devo cha nāma devaputa). Thus the divinity is emphasised by the term "Devaputra". It is true that the characteristic signs of divinity in the delineation of the royal portrait are found for the first time on the coins of Kadphises II who held glorious imperial titles, "Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvalogaīśvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kaṭphisasa tradata".[39]

But does it preclude the idea that Wema Kadphises might inherit his conception of divinity of kingship from his father Kadphises I who used a title like "devaputra"? This question may be posed if Cunningham's reading be correct. But Allan has re-examined those two specimens and found Cunningham's reading to be an error. Moreover we do not find this title on any Kushāṇa coin. It is found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas e. g. "Mahārājasya rājātirājasya devaputrasya Kaniskasya etc." in the Sui Vihar Cp. inscription of Kanisha I (of the year 11). "Mahārājasya rājātirājasya devaputrasya Shāhi Vāsishkasya" in the Sanchi Buddhist Image Inscription. Kanishka has been described as "Devaputra king"[40] in the Chinese Tripiṭakas, the Sūtrālaṁkāra, the Saṁyuktaratnapiṭaka and Dharma-Piṭaka-nidāna-sūtra. The title 'Devaputra' was used only by the Kanishka group of kings.

On some copper coins the name of Kujula Kadphises is read as 'Kujula Kaü' on the reverse. His "*Helmeted head and Macedonian soldier type*" of coins bear on the obverse head of king to right wearing a peculiar helmet. It is found with two recurved horns on Indian Museum specimens. The Greek legend seems to be "Koshsano Kozoulo Kadphizou", meaning "(coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa". On the reverse of these coins is found an armed soldier wearing a Kausia-like helmet, standing to right with spear and circular shield. The Kharoshthī legend is read as "Kujula Kaüsa

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[39] JNSI, Vol. IX, 1947.

[40] Notes on the Indo-Scythians by Sylvain Levi; I.A. Vol. XXXII 1903, p. 382.

Kushāṇa", meaning, "(coin) of Kujula Kau, the Kushāṇa".[41] Another reading is "Kujula Kasasa Kushāṇa Yavüasa".[42]

The type is interesting for its uniqueness. A clay seal[43] with the similar type has been found among the relics discovered by Masson and in the Kot-pura stupa. These coins do not represent Kadphises I with any imperial title. So it seems that they were issued by him when he had just unified the four Yue-chi principalities under the Kushāṇas. Cunningham's reading of 'Yavuasa' after the name of 'Kujula Kasa Kushaṇa' on some coins of the same type are noteworthy in this connection. We have on these coins "Kaü", a particular form of the name of Kadphises in Kharoshthī. Other forms of the name in Kharoshthī are "Kasa" on the ordinary coins of Kadphises I.[44] "Kaphsa" on the ordinary 'Kadaphes' coins.[45]

Another form of Kadphises I's name "Kadapha" is found on his "*King seated and Zeus standing*" *type*[46] of coins. On the obverse of these coins is the king's figure seated cross-legged with his right hand uplifted, wearing conical head-dress with knob at the top. The Kharosthī legend may be reconstructed from the broken pieces thus: "Kujula Kadaphasa (Kasasa) Kushaṇasa", meaning "(Coin) of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāṇa". Here we get another form of the name of Kadphises: "Kadapha". On the reverse is Zeus standing to right with right hand advanced. The legend is indistinct.

Seventy eight specimens of this type Kadphises I's coins were found at Taxila, where they must have been struck. They are nearly always in bad condition. The seated figure on the obverse has been called Buddha by some scholars.[47]

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[41] IMC Vol. I, Pl. XI, 2.

[42] N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series 1892, p. 64.

[43] Ariana Antiqua, Pl. IV, 6.

[44] Bust of Hermaeous and Herakles type of coins.

[45] Diademed head and so called enthroned king type.

[46] Taxila, Vol. II, pp. 792, 818, 840.

[47] PMC. Pt. I Pl. XVII, 29; Smith, "Numismatic notes and novelties" Pt. II and III. JASB Vol. LXVI, 1897, 1898.

V. Smith who first published two specimens of a unique type wrote that they add to the short list of the Kushāṇa coins bearing the image of Buddha. These Buddha pieces are assigned to Kadaphes on account of the legend "Koshansu" which is distinct on one of them. The seated Buddha occupies one side, while the other side, according to Smith, bears Śiva and bull design. Later on, Smith published a third similar Buddha coin of Kadaphes. R. B. Whitehead, after carefully examining all the coins of this type and including the specimens found in the Whiteking Collection[48] came to the conclusion that all those coins undoubtedly bear the image of Buddha. It has been suggested also that the image in question (so called Buddha figure) may be identified as that of Śiva.

As we shall see later, Marshall has advanced certain reasons against the proposed identification of the image of Buddha on Kadphises I's coins. According to him, the conical knobbed cap and the weapon[49] in the raised right hand of the figure are not attributes of the Buddha. The figure, in his view, does not represent either Śiva but the king[50] himself. Tarn thinks that this figure is that of the Buddha.[51] But it is to be noted that it lacks the well-known attributes of a Buddha-image. M. Foucher holds that Buddha was not represented on coins before the time of Kaniskha.[52] This is also the view of A. K. Coomaraswamy who observes: "As regards Buddha, no certain representation of him appears on coins before the time of Kanishka ; the seated figure on certain coins of Kadaphes cannot be definitely recognised as Buddha, on account of the hammer-like object placed in his right hand......".[53] If the figure in question on Kadphises I's coins wears a cap, whatever be its shape, it is definitely unlike that of Buddha.[54]

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[48] Sah Catalogue Pt. I, No. 360 Pl. IV.

[49] "An uncertain object" according to Whitehead—P. M. C. I, Kushana coin No. 29.

[50] Cf. the Azes coin, P. M. C. pl. XI, 195.

[51] GBI. p. 403.

[52] BMC. Pl. XXXII, 14; ASI. 1915-16, p. 34. No. 20.

[53] Quoted by J. N. Banerjea, on p. 113 of Development of Hindu Iconography.

Kujula Kadphises used different names and titles on his coins. The name is found as Kujula Kaphsha,—Kadaphes, —Kau,—Kasa, Kujula Kara Kapa etc. The titles are either "Yavuga Kushaṇa" or only 'Kushāṇa'. On a few coins are found full-fledged imperial titles like "Maharaja Rajatiraja" (Great King, King of Kings) along with the name of Kujula Kadphises.

It seems probable that the Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises coins were the earliest issues of Kadphises I. We may treat the coins bearing the titles 'Yavuga Kushaṇa' or only 'Kushaṇa' with the name of Kadphises I as earlier than those which show full-fledged imperial titles. From this point of view the "Bull and Bactrian Camel" type of coins should be considered as later than the coins of "Augustus head", "Macedonian soldier", and "Zeus standing" types. The silver coins of "Bust and Nike" type bear both 'Yavuga' (leader) and 'Maharaja rajatiraja' (great king, king of kings) which seem to show the period of transition in which Kujula Kadphises raised himself from the position of a leader of the Kushāṇas to that of an independent monarch ruling in the territories between the Oxus and the Indus. His seat of power was probably in Bactria, as it is indicated by his coinage of 'Bactrian Camel' type.

The features of Kadphises I's coinage were inherited from the Indo-Greek coinage through his Parthian predecessors. Like the Greeks in India, Kadphises I followed the policy of bi-metallism, issuing coins both in silver and copper. Bilingualism and bi-scriptualism are other features of his coins bearing Greek legends on the obverse and Prākrit legend in Kharoshthī script on the reverse. The shape of the coins is always round. The appearance of busts and royal heads on the obverse and Greek deities on the reverse, bear testimony to the influence of the Greek coinage. The busts are not so life-like in appearance on the coins of Kujula Kadphises, as we find them on the coins of the Indo-Greeks, but there are indications of the mint-master's sincere attempt at true portraiture of kings in correct delineation of head-dresses etc. The deities like Heracles, Nike, Zeus make their appearance on the reverse of Kadphises I's coins. His personal belief in Śaivism is probably represented by "Bull" on his coins, which stands for Śiva. The belief in Śaivism was probably inherited from his predecessor by Wema Kadphises whose extensive coinage represent Śiva with his mount. The Greek deities appearing on the reverse of the coins of Kujula Kadphises probably indicate two facts: firstly, the Greek die-cutters were employed in the mints of the Kushāṇa empire; secondly, those deities reflected the belief of the Greek subjects of the Kushāṇas.

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[54] For details please see my chapter VI : discussion on "Buddha".

The coins bearing the name of Kujula Kapsa in Kharoshthī and Kozoulo-Kadaphes in Greek appear to be copied from Roman coins, usually said to be those of Augustus, though Allan thinks that the coins were copied from those of Claudius, as the reverse type "is almost certainly borrowed from the type of Constantia on a curule chair".[55]

The imperial titles of Kujula Kadphises found on his coins were probably derived from Greek titles, 'Basileus Basileon' etc.

Coinage of Kadphises II

Wema Kadphises was the last Kushana king who issued bilingual and bi-scriptual coins, like his predecessor Kujula Kadphises. After the Kadphises kings no Kushāṇa monarch used Kharoshthī on their coins. They always used Greek. Kadphises II is the first Kushāṇa king to indroduce gold coinage and Roman standard along with it. His reign, it may be said, is a landmark in the history of Kushāṇa coinage.

Kadphises II or Wema Kadphises, Yen-Kao-chen of the Chinese Annals, who established Kushāṇa rule over India

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[55] Camb. Short. Hist. Ind. p. 58.

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issued a large number of gold, silver and copper coins of various types. During the two centuries previous to Kadphises II, only a few specimens of gold coins, two or three of Eucratides[56], one of Menander,[57] perhaps one from Taxila[58] and another coin of uncertain attribution[59] are found. After the Kushāṇas the gold coinage was continued by the Guptas. It may be said that Kadphises II was actually the first introducer of gold coinage in Northern India. The main reasons behind the introduction of gold coinage by Kadphises II seems to be the demand of gold pieces for international trade going on between India, the Roman Empire and China. Through trade and commerce a fabulous amount of Roman gold flowed to India. Pliny refers to the flourishing commerce between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. and deplores the heavy drain of gold specie from Rome to India to pay for luxuries imported for the use of Roman nobles. The gold coins of the Roman Emperors that poured into India appear to have been melted down and recoined by Kadphises II and his successors. The other reason seems to be extreme debasement of silver currency under Azes II and his Parthian successors, which made it impossible to continue to use the silver standard, the people, having lost faith in it.

Another feature of the coinage of Kadphises II is the representation of the Indian god Śiva on the reverse of his coins. Probably, Kadphises II was converted to the Śaiva faith as his title Māheśvara used on coins indicates. The interesting feature of Kadphises II's coins is the representation of the king as a semi-divine figure on the obverse of his coins.

The occurrence of the Kadphises symbol (*) and the Nandīpāda symbol (*) either on the obverse or on the reverse of Kadphises II's coins is another interesting feature.

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[56] N. Chron. 1892, p. 37, Pl. 3, 11.

[57] Cunningham's collection, now in the British Museum.

[58] Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, Pl. II, 18.

[59] B. M. C. p. 162, Pl. XXIX, 15.

* Please see symbol chart.

Now we shall study the individual coin types of Kadphises II separately and find out what bearing they have on the then history of India.

The gold coins of Kadphises II are of various types:

Class I: *Enthroned King and Śiva type.*[60]

On the obverse is the king wearing crested helmet and diadem and long heavy coat, seated to front on low coach with head turned to left. Flames issue from the king's shoulders. In right hand is a thunderbolt and under the feet a footstool. To right is a symbol (*), to left, and a club or mace. The legend in Greek script is: "Basileus Ooemo Kadphises" which means "(coin) of king Wema Kadphises."

On the reverse is Śiva, radiate, standing to front with head to left, wearing necklace. with long trident in his right hand, behind is a bull to right, on which the deity appears to be leaning. The legend in Kharoshthī script is: "Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga īśvarasa mahīśvarasa Hima Kaṭphiśasa tradata", translated into Sanskrit, "Mahārājasya Rājātirājasya sarvalokeśvarasya Māheśvarasya or Mahīśvarasya Vima Katphisasya tratuḥ." The legend means: "(Coin) of the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, the Mahīśvara or Māheśvara, Vima Kadphisa, the defender." To left is found the Nandīpāda symbol.

We have found out two varieties of this type :

Var. (A): *Enthroned king holding a flower and Śiva with tiger's skin.*[61]

On the obverse is king on throne to front, with flower in right hand, both feet on footstool. He wears tall helmet, with front peak and fillet, and long tunic with sleeves, and

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[60] P. M. C. Pl. XVII, 31.

[61] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XV, 1.

* Please see symbol chart.

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large Tartar boots. The Greek legend is, "Basileus Ooemo Kadphises."

On the reverse is Śiva, standing in front of his bull Nandī, holding trident in right hand and leopard's skin over left arm, like that of Greek Herakles. The Kharoshthī legend is "Maharajaśa rajatirajasa Sarva-loga-īśvarasa Mahīśvarasa Hima Kaṭphisasa tradata."

Var. (B): *Enthroned King holding a branch and flames rising from Śiva's head.*[62]

On the obverse is the king wearing helmet and diadem, seated facing on throne, with head turned to left, and flames rising from his shoulders. In his right hand is a branch. Beneath his feet is a footstool, The same Greek legend and symbol.

On the reverse is Śiva facing, with head turned to left, holding trident in right hand. Drapery is over left arm and hanging at back. Flames rise from his head. Behind him is the humped bull to right. The same Kharoshthī legend and symbol.

The legends appearing on the above coins describe Kadphises II not only as a great king, king of kings, lord of all the world, the Saviour, but also as "Mahīśvara". "Mahīśvara" has been taken by some as "Māheśvara" which means "a devotee of Śiva" (Maheśa). This interpretation is not unreasonable in view of the fact that Śiva with bull and other Śaivic emblem like trident etc. are very often used as reverse devices. The high sounding titles were probably assumed by Kadphises II after his conquest of India (Tien-tchou), an account of which is given in the Hou-Han-Shu. The imperial titles not only indicate Kadphises II's accession to great imperial power, but also probably establish the fact of his conversion to an Indian faith, that is the Śaiva cult. There is no doubt about the fact that Wema Kadphises of the coins was no other than Yen-Kao-Chen of the Chinese annals.

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[62] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 6.

"Hima" or "Ooemo" has been identified by Cunningham with 'Wen', the common ancestor of all the Kushāṇa Kings.[63] Wen is identical with the variant pronunciation of Yen and Hen. The Chinese historians give this name at full length as 'Yen-Kao-Chen'.

'Basileus' is the title used by Kadphises II following examples of his Parthian predecessors in India.

Class II: *King on clouds and Śiva with bull type.*[64]

On the obverse is the king wearing helmet and diadem, seated facing cross-legged on clouds, with head turned to right, In his right hand is a club. His head is surmounted by a trident. To left is the Kadphises symbol (*). The Greek legend is: Basileus Ooemo Kadphises.

On the reverse is represented Śiva in a similar way as on the 'Enthroned king and Śiva' type.

If we analyse the British Museum specimens of this type, *we come across some variations of the same.*

Var A: The obverse device shows some peculiarities. The upper part of the king to right is found omerging from clouds, wearing helmet and diadem and Greek chlamys with club in his right hand. On the reverse we find no flame over the shoulders of Śiva.

Var: (*B*): On the obverse the king appears in a similar way as shown above. But he wears only diadem without helmet. On the reverse Śiva appears without bull, holding in right hand trident and battle-axe combined, in left hand groud, tiger-skin on left arm. Hair of the deity is arranged in a spiral form.

Var C: On the obverse, the upper part of the king emerges from clouds, wears diadem and helmet surmounted by trident and holds in right hand a club and in

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[63] N. Chron. Vol. 12 III Series, p. 40; Vol. 13, III Series, p. 116.

[64] B. M. C., Pl. XXV, 7.

* Please see symbol chart.

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left hand elephant-goad. The 'elephant goad' in the hand of the king is a peculiar feature found on this coin.

On the reverse Śiva is represented in the same way as shown on Var. B.

Class III: *Half length figure of King and Śiva-type.*[65]

On the obverse is the half-length figure of the king to right, wearing helmet and diadem, with sceptre in right hand and flames issuing from his shoulders. The Greek legend is as usual: "Basileus Ooemo Kadphises", To left is the Kadphises symbol.

On the reverse is Śiva wearing necklace, with flames issuing from his head, but not otherwise radiate, standing to front, with head to fett, in right hand long trident-battle-axe, and in left hand gourd and tiger-skin, The Kharoshthī legend is as usual.

We find a variation of this type with some peculiarities in the obverse device.

Var A[66]: Half length figure of the king to left wearing helmet and diadem, but holds a club in right hand and 'ankuś' (goad) in left hand. The reverse does not show any variation.

Class IV: *Head of King in frame and trident-battle axe type.*[67]

On the obverse is shown head of king to right, wearing helmet and diadem within a square frame like that of a picture. The Greek legend is as usual: "Basileus Ooemo Kadphises."

On the reverse is trident of Śiva on stand, with battle-axe attached. On a specimen of Cunningham's collection there is also a club to right. The Kharoshthī legend is simply:

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[65] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 32.

[66] Ibid, Pl. XVII, 33.

[67] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 10.

"Maharajasa rajadirajasa Vima Kapiśasa." To left there is the Kadphises symbol (*) and to right is a Nandīpāda symbol.

Class V: *King in Biga and Śiva type*[68]

On the obverse is king in Biga to right with club on right shoulder. Small driver is in front. The Greek legend is as usual.

On the reverse is Śiva standing to front, with trident in right hand and leopard-skin in left arm. The Kharoshthī legend is as shown in the above type. The Kadphises and the Nandīpāda symbols are seen to left and to right respectively.

Class VI: *Elephant-rider and Śiva type*[69]

On the obverse is king seated facing with head to right on a '*howdāh*' (King's seat) upon an elephant which is walking to left. He holds a sceptre on his shoulder. The Greek legend: "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Kadphises", stands for "(Coin) of Wema Kadphises, the king of kings, the great saviour". Symbol is to right.

On the reverse is Śiva standing facing in front of bull to right holding trident in right hand and resting left hand on bull's horn. Symbol to left. The Kharoshthī legend is as usual.

Wema Kadphises issued some silver coins also. Wilson[70] describes one of them. It was found out by Masson in 1836. Marshall[71] discovered a few silver coins which are attributed to Kadphises II,[72] although he regarded them as belonging to Kadphises I. The type of silver coins undoubtedly attributable to Kadphises II closely resembles his copper coin type. This is: "*King at altar and Śiva type*[73]

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[68] B. M. C. Pl. XXXII, 13.

[69] N. Chron. Vol. XIV, 5th Series, p. 232.

[70] Ariana Antiqua, p. 355.

[71] A. S. A. R. 1912-13, p. 51-52. Nos. 45, 46, 47.

[72] CHI, Vol. I, p. 581-582.

[73] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XV, 9; B. M. C., Pl. XXV, 11.

* Please see symbol chart.

On the obverse of these coins is found the king standing to left wearing diadem and helmet, sacrificing at an altar. To left is found trident and axe combined on British Museum specimens only. To right is club and the Kadphises symbol. The Greek legend is the same as it is found in class VI of gold coins mentioned above.

On the reverse is Śiva facing, wearing head-dress and drapery over shoulder and holding trident in right hand. Behind him is a bull to right. There is a Nandīpāda symbol in the field.

This coin, which is a genuine one is one of the known specimens of the silver issues. The weight of the coin is 56·5 grains only. The weight shows that the coin was intended for the equivalent of the Roman silver denarius.

The copper coins of Kadphises II, so far discovered, are of the "*King at altar and Śiva*"[74] type which may be placed under *class VII* of the coinage of Wema Kadphises. On the obverse of these coins is also found the king standing to left, as on silver coins and making an offering with his right hand over a small altar. To left is trident and battle-axe combined. To right is the Kadphises symbol and club. The Greek legend is: "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Ooemo Kadphises".

On the reverse is Śiva, radiate, standing to front, wearing necklace, with long trident in right hand, and leaning with left arm on bull. To left is the Nandipāda symbol. The Kharoshthī legend is as usual: "Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga-īśvarasa mahiśvarasa Hima Katphiśasa tradata".

This type shows some variations of the reverse device.

Var A: The British Museum specimen[75]

On the reverse is Śiva facing, holding trident with drapery at his back. Behind him is bull. Here we find an additional feature, that is, "drapery". The coin of this type in Cunningham's collection[76] shows some peculiarities in the reverse device shown below.

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[74] P. M. C. Pl. XVII, 36.
[75] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 12.

Var B: No legend is found on the reverse. Śiva stands before bull with trident in right hand, leopard-skin over left arm and water-pot in left hand.

The copper coins of Kadphises II are of three sizes: large, middle and small. The large-size coins weigh about 260 grains and above. The middle-size coins weigh about 128 grains. The weight of the small size coins is about 60 grains. Scholars are generally interested in the study of the varied reverse devices. But it seems that the varied obverse devices are no less remarkable. The coins of Kadphises II depict the king in various forms with different gestures and postures. The king's dresses are clearly delineated. He wears helmet and diadem, and rarely diadem without helmet as his head-dress. We find also on his person large tunic with sleeves. The king always wears Tartar boots, when he stands. Weapons and things other than weapons are held in the hands of the king: a club, an elephant-goad (ankusa), a sceptre, a branch, a flower etc. It is to be noted that the king very often holds a club in his hand. Sometimes the club is found in the field of the copper coins. The king is represented as seated on throne, on clouds, in a Biga, on an elephant and standing by the side of an altar. Sometimes only the bearded bust of the king is represented on coins. An interesting one is the representation of king as half-length figure within a square picture-frame.

The king is represented as looking to left on some coins and as looking to right on others. This feature should be carefully noted. On coins of "Enthroned King type", "King sacrificing at altar type", Kadphises II is found looking towards left. On the coins of "King on clouds type", "Bust of king in frame type", "King in Biga type", and "Elephant-rider type", Wema Kadphises is represented with head turned towards right. We do not think that this representation of the king is whimsical or meaningless. It may be that the king looks to left when he attends to the affairs of the west; and when he look to the right it symbolises his aggressive attitude towards the East. While Kadphises II was conquering territories in India, there might have arisen some administrative troubles in his western territories. Naturally, in the midst of his campaign in the direction of the East, the king had to turn his attention towards the west. Or, again, it may be that after his conquests in the east, he came back to his original kingdom but was still alert in maintaining his supremacy over the conquered territories. The 'Elephant-rider type' of coins most probably bears testimony to Kadphises II's Indian conquests.

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[76] N. Chron. Vol. 12, 3rd series, Pl. XV, 10.

A search for the prototype of "King sacrificing at an altar" device among the issues of contemporary dynasties reveals that similar types really occur on certain coins of the Parthian royal family.[77] On the reverses of certain coins belonging to later group of Volagases I's issues (issued after A.D. 60) a male figure is represented wearing short tunic standing to right and holding in his right hand something over an altar. On the reverse of certain coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes (A. D. 40-51) is represented as the "King wearing helment, diadem with flowering ends of long trousers, heavy garments reaching below the knees and probaby heavy boots, standing facing, looking to left, offering with right hand something on a small altar". On the reverse side of a class of coins of Artabanus III (A. D. 10-40) appears a "male figure standing to his right and holding patera over an altar". The figure naked and winged, might be the representation of Eros. However, the type occurring on the coins of Gotarzes resembles most the type "King sacrificing at an altar" of Vima Kadphises. It has been suggested by some scholars[78] that Vima Kadphises copied this type of his contemporary Parthian King to commemorate his victory over him. That

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[77] Worth, Parthian coins, Pl. XXIX, Nos. 9 & 10, Pl. XXVII, No. 21.

[78] JNSI, XXII, 1960, pp. 109-112.

Kadphises II won some successes against his contemporary Parthian ruler does not seem to be improbable in view of the archaeological finds in the modern Toprak-Kala-region[79] where Vima's coins have been found. But there is a probability also that it was the Parthian King who sufferd reverses in the hands of the Kushāṇa ruler may have found it necessary to adopt the coin-device of his conqueror. Whatever the explanation, some kind of political relation between the Kushāṇas and the Parthians is evidenced by numismatic affinities as exhibited, for example, in the type: "King sacrificing at an altar", common to both.

The Kushāṇa monarch Wema Kadphises who tried to surpass the greatest of the Greek, Scythian and Parthian kings in political power and position, introduced the divine conception of kingship. On some coins the king is represented as seated cross-legged on cloulds or emerging from clouds. On other coins the king is seen with flames issuing from his shoulders. These features remind us of the Greek gods emerging from clouds[80] and also the Hindu gods and goddesses represented with luminous rays or nimbus round their heads.

Śiva has been used as common reverse device of Kadphises II's coins with the exception of only one type of coins where we find only a Śaivite emblem "Trident-Battle-axe". That is the "Head of King in frame" type. The "Trident-Battle-axe" is also found on some obverses by the side of the king. It is found on "king sacrificing at an altar" type of coins. On the coins of "King on clouds" type, the king's head is found surmounted by a trident. These associations justify Kadphises II's title "Māheśvara" that is, a "devotee of Maheśa" or Paśupati or Śiva.

Representation of Śiva on the reverses of the Kushāṇa Kings is of great iconographic interest. Tarn thinks that the figure of Śiva in human form does not appear on coins until

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79 Tolstov, "The Modern review", Dec. 1953.

80 Drouin, IA, XXXII, 1903, pp. 427-32.

the time of the Kushāṇas.[81] Rapson shows Śiva's representation on the coins of the Parthian king Gondopharnes. As shown by Dr. Banerjea[82] the deity definitely appears on the coins of Maues.

Śiva appears almost always with his bull with the execption of some coins. For example, on the 'Enthroned King type', and 'King sacrificing at an altar' type and "Elephant-rider" type, Śiva is found in front of a bull. But on "King on clouds" type, "Half length figure of king type" and "King in Biga type" Śiva is seen without bull. The deity is seen always standing with his head turned towards left. We find nimbus round the head of the deity, Again flames are found issuing from the head of god. It may be that those are not actually flames but dishevelled locks of hair. In Rudra form of Śiva, the god's hair becomes dishevelled. Artists may choose to depict that feature of Śiva. However, the treatment of the matted hair of Śiva differs in individual specimens. There are two arrangements: first, matted hair gathered together in a knot just on the centre of the head; second, convex-shaped object, which may be the hair treated in a fashion similar to that on the head of Śiva on the Chhatreśvara coin of the Kunindas.

Attributes of various kinds have been placed in the hands of two-armed Śiva in different combinations. Those are trident and drapery, trident-battle-axe and gourd with tiger's skins, trident and water-pot with tiger's skin in the right and left hands respectively. Sometimes the deity appears to be leaning over his bull with left hand placed on it. It has been found that the deity always holds some attributes (āyudhas) in his right hand, but not always with his left hand. Sometimes, instead of left hand, left arm is occupied by things like drapery, tiger's skin etc. The "skin over left arm and water-pot in hand" of two-armed Śiva on Kadphises' coins look similar to the attributes associated with the figure of Viśvāmitra on Dharaghosha's silver coins and with the standing Heracles appearing on the coins of some Indo-Greek rulers like Demetrius.[83]

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[81] GBI, p. 402.

[82] Dev. Hind. Icon., p. 119-120.

On a copper coin[84] of Wema Kadphises Śiva is represented as a polycephalous figure.

Like his predecessors Kujula Kadphises, Vima Kadphises introduced in his coinage round form, bi-lingualism, bi-scriptualism, and imperial titles like 'Maharaja rajatiraja' etc. But while on Kadphises I's coin we find the appearance of the Greek deities like Herakles, Zeus and Nike, on the coins of Vima Kadphises the only deity who makes his appearance is the Indian god Śiva. In the coinage of Kadphises I we do not find any variation in the representation of king on coins, but Kadphises II's coins show large number of variations of the same, as we have discussed above. The representation of the king as a semi-divine figure is an innovation in the coinage of Vima Kadphises. The "King sacrificing at an altar" type introduced by Kadphises II was followed by the later Kushāṇa monarches.

Some new titles, borrowed from the Greeks, 'Basileus Basileon Soter Megas' etc., the Prākrit equivalents of which are 'Maharajadhiraja rajatiraja Mahata trata' etc., were introduced by Vima on his coins. New titles like 'Sarvalokeśvara' and 'Mahiśvara' are found on his coins. The occurrence of the Kadphises and Nandīpāda symbols is another interesting feature of Kadphises II's coinage. The most striking innovation in the Kushāṇa coinage was made by Vima by the introduction of gold coinage. This innovation was most probably due to the influence of the Roman imperial coinage. Influence of Raman coinage is also found in the 'Diademed' head type of Kujula Kadphises' coins. The adoption of the figure of Zeus on his coin is also a noteworthy feature. But it seems that with the development of trade and commerce between India and the Roman Empire in the time of Kadphises II,

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[83] Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 122.

[84] Cunningham's Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushāṇas, Pl. XV, 11.

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Roman gold poured into India and was utilised for minting Kushāṇa coins. Along with Roman gold, Roman standard of coinage was also adopted by Wema Kadphises. For these reasons Kadphises II's reign may be regarded as marking a new epoch in the history of the Kushāṇa coinage.

Coinage of the Nameless King (*Soter Magas*)

The title "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas" used on Kadphises II's copper coins occurs as the only legend without the addition of a name on numerous coins found all over the Punjab, as well as in Kandahar and the Kabul valley and also as far eastward as Mathura. From a consideration of the fabric and epigraphy, these coins may be connected with those of Miaus, by similarity of type as shown by the use of 'reel and bead border' as well as the occurrence of the 'horseman' device. Secondly, these coins bearing only titles without name show some affinity to the coins of Wema Kadphises in the use of the nominative instead of the more usual genitive in the Greek legends of the title "Soter Megas", and forms of certain letters both in Greek and Kharosthī employed in the coin-legends concerned. The similarity in Greek letters like lunate sigma, small epsilon, large omega etc. and the similarity in Kharoshthī letters like ma, ra, ja, da, ta, etc. should be noted. These coins also show a symbol (*) which resembles the one used by Wema Kadphises (*).[85] Thus these coins seem to be related to those Kadphises II in point of time. The fact that these coins are found in extra-ordinary abundance and over a wide stretch of territory points to a well-established rule extending over a considerable period.

According to the Chinese annalists: "Kiu-tsiu-Kio" (Kujula Kadphises of coins) died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Wema Kadphises of coins) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered Tien-tchou (India) and established there a chief for governing it." It may

[85] Rapson, Indian coins, p. 16-17.

* Please see symbol chart.

follow that Kadphises II, after establishing his viceroy in his Indian Kingdom, conceded to him the right of striking coinage along with the use of the imperial title with the name omitted.

Let us now analyse the different types of "Soter Megas" coins. The "Nameless King" issued probably a few coins of base silver, a single specimen of which is found in the British Museum.

Class I: *Horseman and Zeus type*[86]

On the obverse is the king to right on horseback, with right hand advanced. To right is the symbol of Soter Megas. The Greek legend is: "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas".

On the reverse is Zeus standing clad in himation. His right hand is raised and his left hand holds a sceptre. The Kharoshthī legend is: "Maharajasa rajatirajasa Mahatasa tradatasa." It is just an equivalent to the Greek legend on the obverse.

The "Nameless King" with Soter Megas title issued the following types of copper coins.

Class II: *Bust of King and Horseman type*[87]

On the obverse is bust of the king to right diademed and radiate. His hand holds a lance bound with fillet. Behind him is the same symbol as shown above. No legend.

On the reverse is the king to right on horseback diademed, holds an "ankuśa." To right is the "Soter Megas" symbol. The corrupt Greek legend is: "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas."

This type resembles the similar type of Miaus' coins.[88] On the obverse of those coins is found bust of the king to right diademed and on their reverse is the king to right on horseback, bow and quiver tied to saddle. Behind is Nike, to right, crowning the king. The coin has no legend on the obverse.

[86] B. M. C. Pl. XXIV, 1.
[87] B. M. C. Pl. XXIV, 2.
[88] B. M. C. Pl. XXIV, 7.

Again, in the bust of the king on the obverse of "Soter Megas" coins we find a Parthian style and the 'horseman' on the reverse may be compared with that on Azes' coins.

Class III : *Bust of King and Zeus type*[89]

On the obverse is the bust of king to right, diademed with the symbol to right.

On the reverse is Zeus standing to left, holding in right hand thunderbolt over altar and in left hand spear or sceptre. The legend in Greek is not complete: Basileus Soter.

Vincent Smith has not found the "altar" on the Indian Museum specimen of this type.

Class IV : *Horseman and Zeus type*[90]

On the obverse is the horseman to right, diademed and wearing helmet, holding up a short weapon in right hand with the Soter Megas symbol and imperfect Greek legend: Basileus Basileon Soter Megas.

On the reverse is Zeus standing to right, holding long sceptre, right arm extended. In front of him is a plant-like object springing from a ball. Kharoshthī character "vi" is found in the left field. The Kharoshthī legend is illegible: "Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa".

Class V : *Janiform bust and King at altar type*[91]

A unique copper coin published by Cunningham shows on the obverse a bust with two faces, surmounted by an Indo-Scythian helmet. The left face is bearded with Kadphises symbol in front. Right face smooth with the symbol of the Nameless king in front.

On the reverse is the king standing to right, sacrificing at a small altar, like Wema Kadphises. There are traces of legends on both sides but no letter can be recongnised with certainty. On the king's side the traces of legend seem to be in Greek.

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[89] B. M. C. Pl. XXIV, 5.

[90] IMC Pt. I Soter Megas Coin No. 32.

[91] N. Chron. Vol. 12, III series, 1892, Pl. XV, 14.

If the faces shown on the obverse represent two persons, a close association between them is indicated.

There may be some clue to the identification of the two faces in the use of the symbols, namely, those of Soter Megas and Wema Kadphises separately. As legends are not preserved the interpretation of the janiform bust practically remains a mystery.

Some peculiarities, as already noted, are common to the coins of Wema Kadphises and Soter Megas. Firstly, the use of the title "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas" in the nominative case is found on the coins of the two kings. Secondly, a circular margin of reels and pellets is found on the coins of both the kings. Thirdly, Kadphises II holds a club up right before his face, The Nameless king also holds a sceptre up right before his face. Fourthly, on the coins of both the kings is found the same peculiar form of the Kharoshthī letter ja (y_).[92]

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the "Bust of King and Zeus" type of the Nameless king resembles a similar type issued by the Greek king Heliocles.[93] The "Horseman and Zeus" type of coins issued by the Nameless king was also issued by Azes, Vonones, Gondopharnes, Abdagases and other Saka-Parthian rulers.

Von Gutschmid[94] sees a numismatic break between Kadphises I and Kadphises II and places the Nameless king in the interval. He regards the issuer of the Soter Megas coins as an Indian prince—the Agniveśya prince, who according to the Gārgi Saṁhitā, ruled over India for twenty years between the two Śaka dynasties. But the coins of the Nameless king contain much of Scythian and Parthian elements; at least they do not bear any evidence of Indian origin attributed to him.

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[92] N. Chron. Vol. 12, III series, pp. 40, 98.

[93] CHI – Vol. I, Pl. VII, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

[94] Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 16-17.

MacDowall[95] suggests that Soter Megas is to be placed between Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises. The earlier coinage of Soter Megas follows the pattern of the coinage of Kujula[96] and the Indo-Parthians being based on different types and weight standards of pre-existing local coinage. His later coinage shows a uniform and general pattern which was adopted by Wema Kadphises. Soter Megas, according to MacDowall's view, is further to be identified with the unnamed king of the inscription of Taxila. If the coinages of Soter Megas are to be classified into two groups as suggested by MacDowall, one may not be sure that the later pattern was set by Soter Megas and not by Wema Kadphises. The coins of Soter Megas, for the sake of argument may be presumed to be spread over a period of long duration which covered parts of the reign of Kujula and also the reign of Wema. So that it may have been possible for Soter Megas to have imitated the numismatic pattern introduced by Wema Kadphises.

The syllable "vi" in Kharoshthī occurs on many coins of the Nameless king. It seems to be an initial of a name. Cunningham suggested two names represented by the initial "vi", Vima or Vikramāditya.[97] But it is more probable that this "vi" denotes "Vima" Kadphises. The reason for inclusion of this abbreviated form of Wema Kadphises was due to the fact that he was the suzerain of the ruler who styles himself Soter Megas. Wema Kadphises and Soter Megas are not identical persons, as suggested by Bachhofer,[98] though there are so many resemblances between their coinages. The 'Janiform bust' type may suggest, as already pointed out, two different rulers with two different faces, one bearded and the other smooth, with their characteristic symbols.

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[95] MacDowall's Paper submitted in a seminar on "Date of Kanishka" held in 1960 under the auspices of School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

[96] Dr. A. K. Narain identifies Soter Megas with Kujula: vide his paper on "Date of Kanishka" submitted in the seminar at London in 1960.

[97] N. Chron. Vol. 10, III series, p. 115.

[98] Die Ara Kaniskas, O.Z. Nem Folge, Vol. 4, 1927-28, pp. 21-43.

Sir John Marshall[99] is of the opinion that there was an interval between Kadphises II and Kanishka to account for the changes to be noticed in the Kushāṇa coinage after Wema Kadphises. But it may be pointed out that numismatic changes, referred to by Marshall are not traceable even initially in the Soter Megas coinage. He has however suggested the possibillity of some disintegration of the Kushāṇa power after Wema's death and, according to him, the Soter Megas coins cover both the reign of Wema Kadphises and this interval or part of it. Konow[100] also thinks that the Soter Megas coins were issued during the critical period following Wema's death. But he adds that these coins were issued by more than one ruler under the same title "Soter Megas" from different localities. But he has not shown how such differentiation is possible on the basis of the coin-specimen left by Soter Megas.

It appears from the controversy in regard to the solution of the Soter Megas problem that there is a general agreement, based on the evidence of coins, on the point that the coinages of Soter Megas and Wema Kadphises form an allied group suggesting their mutual nearness in point of time. The identity of Soter Megas with Wema Kadphises is a matter of doubt, for, no reason is available as to why on some coins Kadphises II's name is present, while on the others it is not found.

Zeus represented on the Soter Megas coins is also found on Kadphises I's coins. He may be the Zeus of Kāpiśa,[101] which was probably one of the mint-cities in Kushāṇa times.

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[99] Taxila, Vol. I, p. 69.

[100] CII, Vol. 2, Pt. I, Historical Introduction, p. LXIX.

[101] "Kaviṣiya nagara devata" (city divinity of Kapisa),—This legend is found along with Zeus on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides.

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The god Zeus may appear on the coins of Kujula Kadphises after his conquest of the Paropanisadae. The "humped bull", the symbol of Śiva, represented on the coins of Kadphises I again might suggest his association with Pushkalāvatī, as it did actually in the case of the Greek coinage.[102] To the Greeks Śiva was known as the god of Gandhāra. It is noticeable that Śiva is represented on all the coins of Wema Kadphises. It may suggest that Pushkalāvatī was one of the mint-cities during his reign. Probably, Wema Kadphises called himself a follower of Śiva after his conquest of Gandhāra. Interesting corroboration that the bull, along with Lakshmī or Umā, was the deity of Gandhāra is found on the unique gold piece[103] which was classed by Gardner with the coins of the Indo-Scythians. It shows on one side the figure of the Indian humped bull with legends, Tauros (bull) and uṣabhe (Prākrit for 'Vrishabha', written in Kharoshthī) and on the other side a goddess (probably Umā) holding a lotus flower in her hand with the Kharoshthī legend "Pakhalavatī devatā" by her side. 'Pakhalavatī' is without doubt the same as 'Pushkalāvatī' which was the capital of Gandhāra. The bull (Śiva) and Umā are found to have been closely associated with Gandhāra region.

From the above discussion it appears probable that there were two mint-cities, under the two Kadphises kings, in Kāpiśa-Gandhara, one of which carried forward the Zeus tradition and the other relating to the Saiva faith. It appears from the "Zeus" type of coins of the Nameless king that Kāpiśa was probably the seat of his power. From Kāpiśa he ruled over the Kabul valley and the Punjab where a good number of Soter Megas coins have been discovered. There is no trace of the allegiance of Soter Megas to Śaivism, which shows his difference from Wema Kadphises.

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[102] GBI, pp. 135, 403.

[103] Comp. Hist. Ind. Vol. 2, Chapter on the Political History of Kushanas.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF THE KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

Introduction to the coinage of Kanishka group:

The coins of Kanishka and his successors forming a group differ in some respects from those of Wema Kadphises. But they can also be shown to have for their prototype the money of the Kadphises group. The obverse device, for example, 'King sacrificing at an altar' of Wema Kadphises' money clearly influenced those of the coins of Kanishka group. The practice of issuing bi-lingual and bi-scriptual coins had been introduced by the Indo-Greek kings. It was continued throughout the Saka-Pahlava period upto the time of the Kushāṇa monarch Wema Kadphises. But Kanishka discontinued it, the legends of his coins being Greek in script though the language on most of them was not Greek. Huvishka and Vasudeva I mainly followed Kanishka's example. The silver decadrachm published by Ghirshman shows, according to him, the name of Wema Kadphises on the obverse and that of Kanishka on the reverse,[1] though the reading of the latter's name is not certain.

The prosperity of the Kushāṇa empire so remarkably attested by the gold pieces struck by Kadphises II, appears to have increased under Kanishka. A large number of beautiful gold coins issued by the latter furnish direct evidence of economic prosperity prevailing during the reign of Kanishka. The times of Kadphises II and Kanishka were different from those of the Parthians, their predecessors. The coins of the Parthians were in the compound metal, billion consisting of 1/5 of silver to 4/5 of copper. This mixture, probably a sign of debasement, may indicate that the economic conditions was not so bright under Parthian rule as under the Kushāṇas from the time of Wema Kadphises.

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[1] Melanges Louis Massign-on, Vol. II, 1957, pp. 259-67.

The gold coins of the Kushāṇas bear evidence of a direct contact with the Roman Empire during the period represented by them. Their weight-system seems to have affinities with the denarius aureus (gold dinara) of the early Roman emperors. The author of the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea reckons gold and silver specie as item of import reaching Barygaza (modern Broach), a part on the western sea-board of India. Many hoards[2] of Roman coins have been found in India which were generally the issues of the first five Roman emperors.[3] Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. Numbers of Roman coins which found their way to North India were recoined by the Kushāṇa monarchs from the time of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka. Very few Kushāṇa silver coins are known. It is reasonable to suppose that the imported silver specie were used for purposes other than monetary. The name denarius came to be adopted in the Sanskrit language as "dināra" usually in the sense of gold coin, as "dramma" was also adopted by the Indians normally in the sense of a silver coin from the Greek coin-denomination "drachma". While the gold coins issued by the Kushāṇa monarchs may have been used mainly to fulfil the necessities of foreign trade and commerce, their numerous copper coins were meant for every day local uses and small internal transactions.

The most characteristic feature of the coins of Kanishka and his successors is their varied reverse devices. On the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are engraved names and figures of Hindu, Buddhist, Greek and Persian deities. The names are written in Greek script but not always in Greek language. The Prākrit language in Kharoshthī script has not yet been found on his coins. The language used in the legends like "Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno" has been designated by Sten Konow as Khotanese Śaka. However, the discontinuance of the practice of issuing bi-scriptual and by-lingual coins is a new policy which is remarkable in the history of ancient Indian numismatics.

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[2] Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India) No. 2, 1946.

[3] JRAS, 1904, p. 590.

The Kushāṇa coins have been broadly classified by different scholars on the lines shown by Cunningham. The defect of this system of classification, however, is that important variations have not been noticed as such. In the following account of the Kushāṇa types from Kanishka I to Vasudeva I an attempt is being made to describe these varieties minutely besides details in regard to the classes into which they have been generally divided. The old classification must be improved by introducing the variations in each available case. Wherever we have suggested the varieties, they have been marked with an asterisk (*).

Coinage of Kanishka I

Kanishka's coins may be classified into two main groups: gold and copper coins. In each group we find a number of types, the commonest one being "King standing at altar" on the obverse and a deity on the reverse.

Gold Coin Types :

Class I : *King at altar and a deity.*

On the obverse is the king standing to left, wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak, sacrificing at altar. Flames rise from his shoulders. The king holds a spear in his left hand. The legend is in Greek script and language: "Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou"[4] i.e., "(Coin) of Kanishka, king of kings". This legend is a close copy of the legend on the coins of Kanishka's predecessors.

On most of the coins the legend is in Greek script but in Śaka language. It is read: "Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno",[5] meaning, "Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of kings". "Shāonāno Shāo" is equivalent to old Persian "Kshāyathiyānam Kshāyathia" and modern Persian "Shāhān Shāh". It is equivalent to Indian "Shāhānushāhi".

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[4] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 1.
[5] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 4.

On the coins bearing "Shāonāno Shāo" title, Kanishka holds in right hand elephant-goad over altar, in his left hand a spear and wears a sword at his waist.

The obverse type of "King standing at altar" has got *two varieties*, one with "Basileus Basileon" title of the king and the other with "Shāonāno Shāo" title.

On the reverse of the coins bearing on the obverse the legend "Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou" are found the following reverse types: —

Salene type[6]: A male god standing to left, diademed, clad in chiton and himation, crescent behind shoulders, right hand advanced, holds in left hand long sceptre bound with fillet; sword girt round waist. To left is a symbol of Kadphises II. The legend in Greek is "Salene", a Greek moon-god. The crescent behind shoulders is the main feature of the deity.

Manaobago type[7]: Four-armed Moon-god enthroned to front, crescent behind shoulders; sceptre and calliper in two hands, and two indistinct objects in two other hands; feet on foot-stool. Kadphises symbol to right. The legend in Greek is "Manaobago".

Mao type[8]: The figure of the deity is the same as the figure of Salene described above. The symbol is the same. The legend in Greek is "MAO".

Hephaistos type[9]: Standing bearded figure, with sword; left hand on hip; right hand holding wreath. Symbol of Kadphises. The legend in Greek is "Hephaistos". Hephaistos is the Greek god of fire, Roman Vulcanus, his Indian counterpart being Vaiśvānara.

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6 B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 1.
7 N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XVI, 7.
8 N. Chron, Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XVI, 9.
9 Ibid, Pl. XVI, 11.

The reverses of the coins bearing on the obverse the legend "Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno" have the following types: —

I. *Athsho type*[10]: Accompanied by the Greek legend "Athsho" stands the figure of a bearded deity to left, diademed, clad in chiton and himation, holds in right hand a wreath and holds tongs in left hand which rests on hip. To left is the Kadphises symbol. The deity can be identified with the Iranian fire god, as his name "athsho" and "tongs" in his hands indicate.

II. *Ardoksho type*[11]: Being accompanied by the Greek legend "Ardoksho" stands a female figure to right, wearing modius and nimbate, clad in chiton and himation and holding a cornucopiae. To right is the Kadphises symbol. The deity has been identified with the Iranian goddess of Fortune, who may be compared with the Indian goddess Lakshmī. The cornucopiae in hand is a special feature of the goddess.

III. *Luhrasp type*[11a]: Along with the Greek legend "Looraspo", stands the bearded deity to right, diademed, clad in sleeved tunic, holds in right hand wreath. Beside him is found a saddled horse trotting to right. To left is the Kadphises symbol. The deity is to be identified with the Iranian god of Lightning who has been described as "Swift-horsed".

IV. *Boddo type*[12]: Accompanied by the Greek legend "Boddo" stands Buddha facing nimbate, clad in chiton and himation. His right hand is advanced and in his left hand a wallet. To right the Kadphises symbol. Most probably this is the first representation of Buddha in human form on coins.

V. *Mao type*[13]: Male-deity to left, diademed clad in chiton and himation. Crescent is seen behind his shoulders.

[10] B. M. C., Pl. XXVI, 4.
[11] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 6.
[11a] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 7.
[12] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 8.
[13] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 9.

His right hand is advanced. He holds in left hand a long sceptre bound with fillet. Sword is girt round his waist. The deity is seen with the Greek legend "Mao" and a Kadphises symbol. That he is a Persian Moon-god is proved by his resemblance with the figure of Salene. The "crescent behind shoulders" is a characteristic feature of the god.

*Var. a: On some coins the deity is found without sword girt round his waist. (B. M. C. Kanishka's coin No. 18).

VI. *Mihira type*: This has two varieties.

*Var. a: The Greek legend is "MEIPO" and the deity is found standing to left. The deity is diademed with radiate disc, right hand advanced, holding in left hand a sceptre bound with fillet, sword girt round waist. There is a symbol of Kadphises, (B. M. C.: Kanishka's coin No. 19).

*Var. b[14]: The Greek legend is "MIIPO" and the deity stands to left. The right hand of the deity is advanced and the left hand rests on hip. A sword is girt round waist. A Kadphises symbol.

Mihira is to be identified with the Iranian Sun-God Mithra. The "radiate disc" behind is a special feature of the god.

VII. *Nana type*: There are three varieties of the type.

*Var. a: Along with the Greek legend "NANA" the deity is represented as standing to right, nimbate and diademed, head surmounted by crescent and holding sceptre ending in forepart of horse and patera. To right is the Kadphises symbol. (B. M. C.: Kanishka's coin No. 21).

*Var. b: The same representation of the deity with the Greek legend "NANASHAO". (B. M. C. Kanishka coin No. 22).

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[14] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 10.

*Var. c[15]: The deity is found with an additional feature, namely "sword at waist".

Nana is the Persian goddess of creation who casts benign influence upon the earth. Her special features "head surmounted by crescent" and "sceptre with the fore-part of horse" are to be carefully noted.

VIII. *OESHO type*[16]: The deity standing to left, nimbate, hair in horn-form on top of head, has four arms and hands, in which he holds respectively a vase, a drum, a trident and a goat, the last by the horns. The deity is accompanied by the Greek legend "OESHO" which might be equivalent to either "Umeśa" or "Bhaveśa", and a symbol of Kadphises.

The deity is to be identified with the Indian god Śiva, known by the "trident" and the characteristic arrangement of hair on the top of head. Śiva, with four hands, is represented for the first time on the coins of Kanishka.

IX. *ORLAGNO type*[17]: The Greek legend is "Orlagno" accompanied by the figure of a deity standing to right wearing diadem, helmet surmounted by eagle, and clad like the king. The deity holds in right hand spear and in left hand sword. There is a symbol of Kadphises.

The deity is to be identified with the Persian War-god Bahram. The majestic attitude of the figure dressed like a king and armed like a general, no doubt, makes itself distinctly impressive.

X. *Pharro type*[18]: The name in Greek "Pharro" accompanies the figure of a male-deity standing to right, diademed and nimbate, clad in chiton and himation and holding in left hand a spear and in right hand either mountain or more probably fires. To right is the symbol of Kadphises. The deity seems to be the Persian god of Fire.

[15] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 11.
[16] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 12.
[17] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 14.
[18] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 15.

XI. *Mazdohano type*[19]: With the Greek legend "Mazdooano" is represented a male figure riding a horse with two heads. To right is the Kadphises symbol.

The deity is to be identified with the Persian god Mazda or Ahura Mazda, who is also called by the name Ormuzd. He is lord of all and the all-in-all creator.

We have shown above the *two varieties* of the obverse type: "King standing at altar". The *third variety*[20] shows the legend "Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno" and the King standing to left at altar, nimbate, holding right hand over altar and in left hand spear bound with fillet. To left is found trident bound with fillet. Firstly, here are found no flames rising from the king's shoulders. Instead of that there is a ninbus round the king's head. Secondly, trident bound with fillet is added as a new feature to the obverse type.

On the reverse of this variety of "King at altar" type we find the representation of Ardoksho, the Persian goddess of Fortune, as seated facing on throne, nimbate, under feet footstool and holding wreath and cornucopiae. The legend in Greek is as usual "ARDOKSHO" and there is a symbol of Kadphises.

Class II Bust of King and deity type:[21]

On the obverse is the Greek legend: "Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno." King's bust to left, diademed and wearing helmet. Left hand is raised and holds spear. Body emerges from clouds.

The Reverse has the following types:—

I. *Athsho type*: Bearded deity to left, clad in chiton and himation, holds in right hand wreath and in left which rests on hip, tongs. The figure is accompanied by the Greek legend "Athsho" and a symbol of Kadphises. The same reverse type has been mentioned above along with "King at altar" obverse type.

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[19] N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XVII, 5.

[20] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 18.

[21] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 16, 17.

II. *OESHO type*: The Indian god Śiva is represented as shown above but without nimbus. The god has four arms and hands, in which he holds respectively a vase, a drum, a trident and a goat. Kadphises symbol. The Greek legend is "Oesho".

Copper Coin types

The copper coins of Kanishka are of the following types:—

Class I: *King at altar and deity with the title "Basileus Basileon"*[22]

On the obverse is the king radiate, standing to left wearing peaked helmet, long heavy coat, and trousers, sacrifices at a small altar and holds a long spear in left hand. The Greek legend is: "Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou".

On the reverse of the coins are found representations of the following types:—

I. *Helios type*[23]: The Greek legend is "Helios". The deity is radiate standing to left, diademed, clad in chiton and himation. Characteristic halo of sun-rays behind his head. His right hand is advanced and left hand is on hip. To left is the symbol of Kadphises.

The deity represents, no doubt, the Greek Sun-god.

Var. a[24]: On some specimens preserved in the Indian Museum the Sun-god is seen to rest his left hand on sword, instead of hip.

II. *Nanaia type*[25]: Goddess Nanaia to right, nimbate and diademed holds in right hand sceptre ending in forepart of horse. To right is the symbol of Kadphises. The name of the deity is in Greek: "NANAIA".

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[22] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 2.
[23] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 2.
[24] I. M. C. Vol. 1, Coins of Kanishka No. 17.
[25] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 3.

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Class II: *King at altar and deity, with the title "Shāo"*

This may be treated as the *second variety* of the obverse type of copper coins of Kanishka. The king is represented on the obverse in the same way as in the Class I obverse type shown above. But instead of "Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou," is found the legend in Greek "Shāo Kaneshki".

The reverse has the following types:—

I. *Athsho type*[26]: With the legend "Athsho" is found bearded deity (fire-god) standing to left. The deity holds a wreath in right hand and tongs in left hand which rests on hip. To left Kadphises symbol.

II. *Buddha type*[27]: Buddha facing nimbate, his right hand raised as if for teaching and in left hand wallet. The legend in Greek is "SAKAMANABODDO," i.e., Śākyamuni Buddha. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

III. *Mao type*: There are two varieties of this type.

*Var. a[28]: The moon-god to left, clad as king with crescent behind shoulders. His right hand is advanced, in left hand long sceptre bound with fillet and sword is at waist. To left is the symbol of Kadphises. The Greek legend is "MAO."

*Var. b: The deity is represented as shown in Var. a, but he does not hold a sceptre. (B.M.C. Kanishka coin Nos: 43, 44, 45)

IV. *Mihira type*[29]: The Greek legend is found with different spellings: MIORO, MIIRO, MIOIRO, etc. Sun-god Mithra is found standing to left, diademed with radiate disc, clad as king with right hand advanced and in left hand is a sword. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

V. *Nana type*[30]: Goddess Nanaia, with the legend in

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[26] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 1.

[27] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII. 2.

[28] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 3.

[29] B. M. C. P1. XXVII, 4.

[30] B. M. C. P1. XXVII, 5.

Greek, "NANA," is represented as standing to right, nimbate and diademed, holds sceptre, ending in forepart of horse, and patera. To right is the Kadphises symbol.

VI. *Vata type*[31]: The Greek legend is: "OADO". The deity is found running to left, his hair loose, holds in both hands ends of his garments which floats about him. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

The deity represents the Persian wind-god and closely corresponds to Indian god Vayu.

VIII. *OESHO type*:[32] The Greek legend is "OESHO". Śiva standing to left, nimbate. His four arms and hands hold a wreath, a drum, a trident and vase. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

There are three varieties of this type.

*Var. a: Śiva is found two-armed, nimbate, holding trident in right hand. (B.M.C.: Kanishka coin No. 70)

*Var. b: Śiva is not nimbate. (B.M.C. Kanishka coin No.71)

*Var. c: Śiva is found to hold spear or staff in his right hand and a club in the left.[33]

That the imperial Kushāṇas introduced an exalted conception of monarchy is attested by the imperial titles held by Kanishka. In one series of coins we have found the Greek titles : "Basileus Basileon" etc. In another series of coins appears the Persian title : "Shāonāno Shāo". Nimbus is seen behind the head of the king. Flames are found issuing from the shoulders of the king. On some specimens the king's body is found emerging from clouds.

The representation of the king sacrificing at altar reminds one of the Roman Pontifex Maximus. Kanishka appears, in this aspect, as a chief priest of his people, a role assumed by him as a part of his royal duties. In the Homeric age also the Greek king had similar duties assigned to his office.

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[31] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 6.

[32] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 7.

[33] Indian Museum Specimen: Kanishka's coin No. 72 (6 specimens).

On the reverse of the coins are represented Greek, Persian, Brahmanical and Buddhist deities. The natural explanation of this diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in the different provinces of a large empire[34] with different religious traditions. The coins of Kanishka who extended his dominions both in Central Asia upto Yarkhand and Khotan and also Eastern India upto Banaras, were minted in different parts of his empire. Rapson holds the view that the deities shown on the reverse were no other than the tutelary gods of the numerous mint-cities. This view draws some support from the fact that the coins of Kanishka have been found in a wide region comprising Central Asia and extending from the North-west to the Eastern parts of India. The empire of Kanishka was inhabited by different races, speaking various languages and professing various religious creeds. In this connection we cannot ignore the force in Kennedy's[35] argument that the Messenians who carried on trade and commerce between India and the Persian gulf must have affected Kanishka's coinage to some extent. In the Kushāṇa age in Kabul and Kashmir there were important trade emporiums.

Now, the question may be asked whether from a study of the divine figures found on Kanishka's coins any evidence regarding the personal religion of the king may be obtained. It is very difficult to give a correct answer to this question. Cunningham suggests that Kanishka's religious life underwent several changes.[36] At the earliest stage, Kanishka preferred the pantheism of the Greeks, worshipping Helios, Salene, and Hephaistos, next a mixture of Mazdean fire-worship and Indian nature-worship, finally followed by his conversion to

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[34] Rapson ; Cat. coins of the Andhra dynasty, Introduction, p. xi-xii.

[35] JRAS, 1912, pp. 981-1012.

[36] N. Chron. Vol. 12, III series, p. 45.

Buddhism. The issuing of the "Buddha" type of coins is not the sole evidence of Kanishka's interest in Buddhism, nor can it by itself prove his conversion to that faith. But throughout the king has retained his character as a sacrificer at the altar perhaps as an emblem of his royal function. Fire-worship was the characteristic of old Persian and Vedic religion.

So far as the peculiarities of the Greek scripts used on the coins of Kanishka are concerned they may be noticed as follows :—(i) the appearance of lunate sigma (C) which is also found on the coins of Wema Kadphises, (ii) the use of the small omega (W) as on the coins of Wema Kadphises, (iii) the appearance of small epsilon (Σ). (iv) the introduction of the doric sigma (*ρ*) which is first found on the joint-issues of Spalirises and Azes. These scriptual peculiarities are later found on the coins of Huvishka.

On the coins of the Kushāṇas, the letter 'ρ' has got the value of 'sh'. The identity of 'Kaneshki' (in Greek) with Kanishka is not disputed. The 'sh' value of '*ρ*' sign is to be applied in reading of the legends in which it is used on the Kushāṇa coins. The name of Kanishka, for example, is to be read as such. It is made definite by the occurrence of the name in this form in other sources. From Chinese sources is obtained the name of Kanishka as Kia-ni-Si-Kia. The shortened form of the name of Kanishka is Kanak, as given by Alberuni to the Turki king of Kabul, who founded the great Stūpa at Peshawar. In inscriptions his name is invariably written as Kanishka, both in Brahmī and Kharoshthī scripts. Similarly the reading "Koshāno" (in Greek) with the same sign (*ρ*) present in it is paralleled by the expression "Kushāṇa" equivalent to the Chinese "Kuei-Shuang", The reading "Shāonāno Shāo" (in Greek) is to be derived from the same principle.

Now, the question may be asked: why did Kanishka use Greek script for Scythic language? Why did he not make use of the Kharoshthī, the predominant script in Gandhāra which was under Kanishka's rule? The Greeks were in

Bactria for a considerably long period of time before it was occupied by the Śakas. Thus the use of the Greek script and language must have been well-established in Bactria. Kharoshthī was specially suitable for the Gandhāra-region. It was possibly in Bactria that the Scythian language used by Kanishka on his coins was adapted to the Greek script.[37] The non-use of Kharoshthī on his coins was possibly due to his adherence to the practice, already adopted, of using the Greek script.

Some scholars hold the view that Kushāṇa gold coins were meant for foreign trade[38] only. It has been argued that Greek was used on those coins, as Greek was at the time the lingua franca, the language of the trading classes of different countries. Kennedy thinks that though the Greek legends on the Kushāṇa coins were grammatically corrupt, Greek was understood in Kanishka's time.[39] Seneca and Plutarch confirm the view as to the perpetuation of Greek languge in the Southern country between Seleucia and the Punjab.[40]

It is difficult to appreciate the point that Greek was the exclusive language of commerce in those days on the basis of the legends on the Kushāṇa coins. The legends on these coins are no doubt in Greek script but they are not always in the Greek language. From the coins of Kanishka the following specimens of the use of the Greek language are obtained:—

On the obverse: Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou ;

On the reverse: Salene, Helios and Hephaistos.

That is all of Greek of Kanishka's coins. Huvishka's coins are conspicuous by the discontinuance of the use of this language. "Heracles" has been transformed into "Erakilo" on those coins. There are many coins of Kanishka and Huvishka bearing the legends in Greek script but in a Scythian language which has been identified by Sten Konow[41], with one of the unknown languages discovered in documents from Chinese Turkestan.

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[37] JRAS, 1913, p. 627.

[38] Ibid, 1912, p. 994.

[39] JHS, 1902, p. 280.

[40] JRAS, 1912, p. 994.

Allan thinks that "there is no reason to doubt that the gold coinage of Kanishka was suggested by the Roman solidus ; some of the reverses are direct copies of Roman types"[42] The Kushāṇa monarch can hardly be placed before Titus (79-81 A.D.) and Trajan (98-117 A.D.). J. Kennedy whose numismatic argument was bound up with the view placing Kanishka before the Kadphises group of Kings, definitely stated that "Kanishka's coinage had no sign of Roman influence.[43] But his view is contradicted by the discoveries of Marshall.[44] It seems that the weight of the imperial Roman aurei from Augustus to the accession of Nero had some connection with the gold coins of Wema Kadphises and his successors. In spite of the small fluctuations in weight of the Roman aurei of this period, their measure was about 123 grains.[45]

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that Kanishka was later than Kadphises II. The seat of his power was the same. "Whether it be in the topes, in the ground, or in the bazars, Kanishka's coins are almost invariably mixed with those of his predecessor.[46] In like manner also their coins consist of gold and copper, with a very few exceptional cases of silver. It should also be noted that the Kadphises symbol is retained on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka. The "King at altar and Śiva" type of Kadphises II is not missed among Kanishka's coin-types.

Coins found in Chinese Turkestan show that the largest number of Kushāṇa coins belong to Kanishka, one or two to the Kadphises group and one to Huvishka.[47] The coins of Kanishka probably indicate either the extension of his political power to that country or trade and commercial relation with it establisned during his reign. Probably such political or commercial relation with Chinese Turkestan ceased in the beginning of Huvishka's reign.

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[41] CII, Vol. II, Pt. I, Historical Introduction, p. Li.

[42] Camb, Short. Hist. p. 77.

[43] JRAS, 1912, p. 999 ff.

[44] Ibid, 1914, "On Greeks and Sakas"

[45] N. Chron. IX, 3rd series, p. 296.

[46] Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 357.

No coin of Vāsishka has yet been found. Some scholars have attempted to discover some of Vāsishka's coins in the lot attributed to Huvishka without any positive result.[48] Kanishka II of the Ara Inscription goes unrepresented in the Kushāṇa coinage. The coins bearing the name of "Kaneshko" are to be attributed to a later king as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

Coinage of Huvishka

Huviṣhka, Ooeshki of the coins, Hushka of the history of the Rājataranginī of Kalhana, was the successor of Kanishka. His inscriptions are dated with regnal years ranging between 28 and 51. The Buddhagaya Colossal Buddha, dated in the year 64, is attributed by Cunningham[49] to Huvishka's reign as the impression of one of Huvishka's gold coins formed part of the relic deposit under the throne of the great Temple of Mahābodhi at Buddha Gaya. The two extreme dates, year 28 and year 64, if referred to the Śaka era, would be equivalent to A.D. 106 and 142 and would indicate a long reign of Huvishka. The Roman gold coins found in the Ahinposh stūpa[50] confirm this date. In this stūpa excavated in 1879 were found twenty gold coins, ten of Wema Kadphises, six of Kanishka, one of Huvishka, one of Domitian, one of Trajan and one of Sabina. The last coin of Sabina, wife of Hadrian, which cannot be earlier than A. D. 117 fixes the date of the deposit. The long reign of Huvishka is attested by the large number of gold and copper coins left by him.

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[47] Lists in Stein's Ancient Khotan, Serindia and Innermost Asia.

[48] Fleet observes : "We may expect to find some of them in coins, at present attributed to Huvishka, showing more or less illegible or imperfect legends in which a lunate sigma, standing next before the eta, has been misread as omicron." (JRAS, 1903, p. 329).

[49] N. Chron. Vol, XII, 3rd series 1892, pp. 40, 98.

[50] Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report, XI, 97.

Huvishka's coinage is characterised by varied obverse as well as reverse devices. The obverse of his gold coins bears the imperial bust wearing garments decked with jewels, and a high or flat topped ornamental headdress, with the sceptre in his hand. The obverse of his copper coins depict him in various attitudes, such as riding an elephant, reclining on a couch etc. Of these the former one is the most common. The reverse of the coins bears, like Kanishka's coins, the figures of deities belonging to various pantheons, Greek, Indian and Persian. Indian divinities like Skanda-Kumāra, Visākha, Mahāsena, Umā, the Alexandrian Serapis, personified Rome, the Greek Heracles, several Persian deities like Shariwar, Luhrasp, Orlagno, Uranus, Oanindo etc. deserve special mention among others. These deities are recognised with the help of the descriptive legends occurring by their side. The die-cutters appear to have blundered sometimes, giving wrong descriptions or making a mess of Greek letters. On these coins, like Kanishka's coins, we find the doric sigma 'ρ' which is equivalent to 'sh'.

Huvishka is almost invariably described on the obverse of his coins as "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno" i. e. Shāhān Shāh Huvishka, the Kushāṇa.

Cunningham[51] has recognised Huvishka's figure on a nicolo seal where an alien chief wearing one of the typical head-dresses attributed to Huvishka is shown standing in a suppliant attitude before the four-armed Brahmanical god Vishṇu. On a few other seals probably the same monarch is seen as a suppliant before goddess Nana. But the device on the nicolo seal has been differently identified by Ghirshman[52] who finds in the suppliant figure a Hepthalite Huṇa chief and a combination of Vishṇu, Śiva and Mihira in the deity. Huvishka's portrait on a few well-preserved gold coins reveals a man with regular features, aquiline nose, large deep-set eyes, and a look of firm determination.

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[51] N. Chron. Vol XIII, 3rd series 1893, pp. 126-128.

[52] Begram.

However, the numismatic peculiarites present Huvishka as a powerful monarch of barbaric splendour with an appreciable amount of religious liberalism.

Gold Coin Types

The gold coins of Huvishka, according to Cunningham[53], offer four busts of the king. They may be described as follows:

(A) Very rare large head or bust[54] not showing arms or hands of the king, covered with a round jewelled helmet with spreading crest, and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind. A large ornamental ear-ring is in the ear, and flames spring from the shoulders, The legend is in badly formed Greek letters "ρAONANO ρAO OOHρKI KOρANO" i. e. the king of kings, Huvishka, the Kushāṇa,"

(B) Half length-figure[55] of the king rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand, and club in right hand before face. On some coins sceptre is changed for the 'ankus', or elephant-goad, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider as seen on his copper coins.

According to Gardner, the half-length figure of the king wearing conical helmet, also appears as holding ear of corn and standard surmounted by bird. (B. M. C. Huvishka coin No. 118).

(C) Half length figure[56] of the king rising from clouds, richly dressed, sometimes with flames springing from his shoulders, with round jewelled helmet or cap to left, club

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[53] N. Chron. 1892, p. 98.

[54] Ibid, Pl. XIX, A.

[55] Ibid, Pl. XIX, B.

[56] Ibid, 1892, Pl. XIX, C.

('ear of corn' according to Gardner) and an ankus or sceptre in hand. This is the most common form. Details of the king's costume vary in different coins which we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter.

(D) The same half-length figure[57] of the king to right. On some of the coins the king's name is written as "O OHPKI". Cunningham follows Stein in reading "O" in some cases as an aspirate, and in others as a semi-vowel.

V. Smith also accepts Cunningham's classification in respect of the depiction of the king's bust. But there are other varieties of king's busts found on some coins, in view of which Cunningham's classification is no longer tenable.[58]

*Var. a: On a unique gold coin of Huvishka[59] of the Pharro-type preserved in the Munich Museum, the bust of king is shown as wearing a turban to which are attached streamers and an animal, possibly a lion. The king's face to right has beard and full-grown whiskers and moustaches. He wears a coat of mail with cloak and a necklace. He holds a kind of sceptre in his right hand and a standard bound with fillet surmounted by a bird facing, to right, in left hand.

*Var. b: On another gold stater of Huvishka[60] of Nana type preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the bust of king to left wears a cap, partially similar to that of Nahapana, but not so thick; a crest jewel in his forehead; left arm on chest, sceptre passing under it, right hand bent and raised up with a bird perched on it facing the king, who is looking at it with keen interest.

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[57] N. Chron. Pl. XIX, D.

[58] Cf. Allen H. Wood III's "The Gold Coin-types of the Great Kushanas", pp. 13-15.

[59] JNSI, Vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 97-99.

[60] Ibid, Vol. XI, 1949, p. 49-50.

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There are other obverse types also which will be shown in the following account of the different classes of Huviska's gold coins.

Class I: With Bust "B" and the legend "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno" on the obverse, the following reverse types are found:—

I. *Athsho type*[61]: God of fire standing to right with flames rising from shoulders, and carrying hammer and tongs in left hand. To right Huvishka symbol (*). Legend in Greek is "Athsho".

II. *Ardviksho type*[62]: Sun-god radiate to left, with sword, left hand on hip, right hand extended, first two fingers raised. Legends in Greek "Ardviksho". To left Huvishka symbol.

III. *Ardoksho type*[63]: Draped female figure standing to right, holding cornucopiae with both hands. Huvishka symbol. Legend in Greek: "Ardoksho".

*Var. a[64]: Goddess appears holding cornucopiae in left hand and wreath in right hand.

*Var. b[65]: Goddess is seen diademed and nimbate, in Greek attire, holding cornucopiae in both hands. The wrong Greek legend "Mioro" which is applicable in the case of sun-god is found with the goddess of fortune. This blunder is due to the negligence of the die-cutters.

IV. *Mao type*[66]: Moon-god to left, crescent behind shoulders, clad in coat, holds wreath and sceptre; sword at waist. Greek legend "MAO". To left Huvishka symbol.

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[61] BMC, Pl. XXVII, 8.

[62] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 9.

[63] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 10.

[64] N. Chron, 1892, Pl. XXII, 4.

[65] BMC. Pl. XXVII, 14.

[66] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 18.

* Please see symbol chart.

*Var. a[67]: The moon-god appears with sceptre in left hand and the right hand extended.

*Var. b[68]: The moon-god appears with a sword in left hand and the right hand extended.

V. *Mihira type*[69]: There are different Greek legends: MIIPO, MOPO, MIOPO, MIYPO, MIYIPO etc. Sun-god to left, nimbate, holds wreath and sceptre, sword at waist. To left Hnvishka symbol.

*Var. a[70]: The deity holds wreath and sword.

*Var. b[71]: The deity holds spears and sword.

*Var. c[72]: Ths deity appears as holding a sceptre in left hand and advancing the right hand.

*Var. d[73]: The deity appears as advancing to left with right hand advanced and left holding sword.

VI. (*) *type*[74]: Greek legend: (*) (Zero ?). Artemis standing to right clad in long chiton and himation, holds in left hand bow, and with right hand draws arrow from quiver. To right Huvishka symbol. The goddess probably corresponds to Zahr, the Persian name of Venus.

VII. *Nana type*[75]: Greek legend "NANA". Nanaia to left wears stephane holds sceptre ending in the fore-part of horse, and patera. To left Huvishka symbol.

*Var. a[76]: The legend "Nano" accompanying Nanaia who appears to right, diademed, crescent on head, holding sceptre and patera.

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[67] B.M.C., Pl. XXVII, 19.

[68] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 20.

[69] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 1, 2, 3; Cf. Allen H. Wood III's "The Gold Coin-types of the Great Kushāṇas", pp. 21-24.

[70] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XIX, 9.

[71] BMC, Pl. XXVIII, 2.

[72] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 3.

[73] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 6.

[74] Ibid. Pl. XXVIII, 7.

[75] Ibid, Pl, XXVIII, 8.

[76] Ibid. Pl, XXVIII, 9,

* Please see symbol chart.

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VIII. *Oaninda type*[77]: Greek legend "Oaninda." Nike or goddess of victory standing to left, holding wreath and trophy stand as on coins of Alexander. To right Huvishka symbol.

IX. *OAXO type*[78]: Standing figure of bearded deity, facing, head to left, nimbate. Draped figure holds long sceptre in right hand; fish in left. To left Huvishka symbol.

X. *Oesho type*[79]: Śiva, facing, three-headed, nimbate, clad only in waist-band, ithyphallic, has four arms and hands in which are held goat, wheel, trident and thunderbolt. To right Huvishka symbol.

XI. *Shao Shero type*[80]: Greek legend "Shao Shero." Male-figure standing to right, in Greek helmet and armour, holds spear and shield which rests on ground. To right Huvishka symbol. The deity has been identified by Gardner with Ares, Greek war-god. He has been identified with the Persian god of wealth by Martin Haug.

XII. *Pharro type*[81]: Greek legend "Pharro." Male-deity to left, head winged, clad in coat and chlamys holds in right hand, fire; left hand grasps sword at waist. To left Huvishka symbol. Cunningham finds in the deity's right hand a vessel containing "grain-seeds." The type has number of varieties.

*Var. a[82]:	The deity is diademed with flames rising from his shoulders.
*Var. b[83]:	The deity is shown with nimbus, his right hand advanced and left hand holding a long sceptre with sword at waist, (B.M.C. Huvishka coin No. 119).

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77 BMC, Pl. XXVIII, 13.
78 N. Chron, Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XXVIII, 12.
79 BMC, Pl. XXVIII, 16.
80 Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 17.
81 Ibid, XXVIII, 25.
82 BMC, XXVIII, 26.
83 Ibid, XXVIII, 28.

*Var. c[84]: The deity appears as nimbate holding fire and sceptre, but with no sword at waist. (B.M.C. pl. XXVIII, 27).

*Var. d[83]: The deity is shown nimbate, holding purse and caduceus, or purse and long sceptre.

*Var. e[84]: The deity is found nimbate, holding sceptre and elephant-goad.

XII. *ONIA type*[85]: Standing figure of deity to nimbate and radiant. His left hand rests on buckled sword; right hand is advanced. To left Kushāṇa symbol: (*) blundering of the basic symbol. To right Greek ONIA or AINO.

Class II: With bust C and legend 'Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno,' the reverses of Huvishka's gold coins bear the following types :—

I. *Ardoksho type*[86]: Greek legend "Ardoksho". Female deity to left, nimbate, holds wreath and cornucopiae. To left Kadphises symbol.

II. *Manaobago type*[87]: Greek legend "Manaobago". Moon-god facing seated on the throne, feet resting on footstool, wears helmet, crescent behind shoulders, has four arms and hands, in three of which he grasps sceptre, wreath and fire, fourth hand rests on hip. To right Huvishka symbol Cunningham has seen in two left hands, sceptre and callipers, and in two right hands indistinct objects.

III. *Mao type*[88]: Greek legend "Mao". Moon-god, to left, holds sceptre in left hand. To left Huvishka symbol.

*Var. a[89]: The deity appears with crescent, sceptre in left hand sloping, sword by side and right hand

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84 B.M.C., XXVIII, 29.
85 N. Chron, Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XIX, 14.
86 B. M. C. XXVII, 13.
87 Ibid, XXVII, 17.
88 Ibid, XXVII, 21.
89 Ibid, XXVII, 22.

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extended. Sometimes, the sword instead of sceptre is found in left hand.

*Var. b[90]: The deity appears as diademed, holding wreath in right hand and sceptre in left hand.

IV. *Mihira type*[91]: Greek legends: "MIOPO, MIIPO" etc. Sun-god to left, radiate, holds wreath and sceptre with sword at waist. To left Huvishka symbol.

*Var. a[92]: The deity holds spear and sword.

*Var. b[93]: The deity extends his right hand and holds sceptre in left hand transversely, bound with fillet or holding in the same hand sword.

*Var. c : The deity is seen holding wreath and sword. (B.M.C. Huvishka coin No: 48).

V. *Mao and Mihira Combined type*[94]: Bearded moon-god to right, diademed, crescent behind shoulders, holds in right hand sceptre, bound with fillet, in left hand elephant-goad; and Sun-god to left, radiate, right hand advanced; in left hand sceptre, bound with fillet. Behind the two figures, the names in Greek MAO and MIIPO respctively, Between them the Huvishka symbol.

VI. *Nana type*:[95]: Greek legends: NANAPAO, NANA, NANO, etc. Nanaia to right, diademed and nimbate; crescent on head; sword at waist, holds sceptre and patera. To right Huvishka symbol.

VII. *Oesho type*[96]: Greek legend OHPO. Śiva to left, nimbate, wears necklace and has four arms and hands, in which are (1) base and elephant-goad, (2) thunderbolt, (3) trident, (4) goat. To left Huvishka symbol.

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[90] B. M. C. XXVII. 23.
[91] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 2.
[92] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 2.
[93] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 3.
[94] Ibid, Pl. XXVII 24.
[95] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 11, 12.
[96] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 14.

*Var. a : Śiva is seen holding a wreath in place of 'vase and elephant-goad'. (B. M. C. Huvishka coin No. 100).

*Var. b[97]: Śiva appears as facing, three-headed, has four arms and hands, in which are vase, thunderbolt, trident and club.

VIII. *Mahāsena type*[98] : Greek legend: MAACHNO. Male-deity, facing, nimbate, and diademed, clad in coat and chlamys, holds in right hand, standard surmounted by bird, in left hand sword. To left the Kadphises symbol.

IX. *Skanda Kumāra Viśākha type*[99]: Greek legend: "SKANDO KOMARO BIZAGO". Skanda (a male-deity) and Viśākha (a male-deity) standing face to face, nimbate, each wearing chlamys and necklace and sword at waist. But Skanda holds in right hand standard surmounted by bird. Viśākha holds in left hand spear. Between them either the Kadphises symbol or the Huvishka symbol.

*Var. a[100]: Niche on basis, within which Skanda and Viśākha are found standing as above. Between them Mahāsena (another male-deity), facing nimbate, clad in chlamys, sword at waist. To left Huvishka symbol.

X. *Riom type*[101]: Greek legend "PIOM". Roma (personified) standing to right, wearing helmet and long chiton, holds spear and shield. To right the Kadphises symbol.

XI. *Serapo type*[102]: Greek legend "SARAPO". Serapis standing to left, diademed and clad in himation, right hand advanced, in left hand sceptre. To left Huvishka symbol

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[97] B. M. C., Pl. XXVIII, 15.

[98] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 16.

[99] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 22, 23.

[100] Ibid, XXVIII, 24.

[101] Ibid, XXVIII, 20.

[102] Ibid, XXVIII, 21.

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The deity is identified with the Greek god Pluto corresponding to Indian god Yama.

XII. *Pharro type*[103]: Greek legend "PHARRO". There are important varieties of this type among the British Museum specimens:—

*Var. a :	Male-deity to left, nimbate, in extended right hand fire, in left hand sword. To left Huvishka symbol.
*Var. b :	The deity has his head winged, holds wreath in right hand and sceptre in left hand.
*Var. c :	The deity rests his right hand on hip and holds sceptre in left hand.
*Var. d :	The deity rests his left hand on hip and holds sceptre in right hand.
*Var. e :	The deity stands on fire, holds in right hand, fire and in left sceptre. To left the Kadphises symbol.
*Var. f :	The deity extends his right hand and holds caduceus in left hand.

XIII. *Uron type*[104]: Greek legend "URON". Male-deity to left, bearded wearing modius (water-vessel) and himation, right hand advanced, in left long sceptre. To left Huvishka symbol. The deity is identified with Greek Uranus. He has more correspondence with Indian god of water, Varuna.

XIV. *Nana and Śiva combined type*[105]: Greek legends: "NANA" and "OESHO". Figures of the deities, four-armed but empty handed Śiva and Nana holding a branch, facing one another. Between them the Huvishka symbol.

XV. *Śiva and Umā combined type*[106]: Standing figures of Umā (l.) and Śiva (r.) face to face. Śiva is four-armed and nimbate; wears dhoti and top-knot. He holds trident and animal in left hands, drum in upper right; elephant goad and water-vessel in lower right; Umā, clad in himation and chiton, holds sceptre in r. hand. Between, the Huvishka symbol. To l. and r. Greek legends, OMMO and Oη/ρO.

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[103] B. M. C., XXVIII, 30, 31., cf. Allen H. Wood III's "The Gold Coin Types of the Great Kushāṇas", pp. 29-32.

[104] Ibid, Pl, XXVIII. 32.

[105] Ibid, I Kushāṇa coin No. 135.

[106] JRAS, 1897, p. 324.

Class III. With the bust D on the obverse is found the following reverse type[107]:—

Corrupt Greek legend: OqOΔqΔ which probably stands for 'Ardoksho'. Female deity to left, with modius and nimbus, holds cornucopiae.

In addition to the obverse type observed by Cunningham there are other prominet obverse types which are given below.

Class IV: *Elephant rider and Ardoksho type*[108]

On the obverse appears the king to right riding on an elephant, holds sceptre and elephant-goad. The Greek legend is: "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno". On the reverse is found goddess to right in Greek attire, with modius and nimbus, holds in both hands cornucopiae. The Greek legend is: "ARDOKSHO". To right Huvishka symbol.

Class V: *King seated and Herakles type*[109]:

On the obverse is the king seated cross-legged to left, diademed and nimbate, flames rising from shoulders, wears conical helmet, and holds ear of corn and spear. The Greek legend is: "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki". On the reverse is bearded Herakles to left, naked, holds in right hand club, over left arm lion's skin, in left hand apple. The Greek legend is: "ERAKILO". To left Huvishka symbol.

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[107] B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 11.

[108] Ibid, XXVII, 12.

[109] Ibid, XXVII, 15.

[110] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 10.

Class VI: *King seated with standard and Nana type*[110]:

On the obverse is found king seated cross-legged, helmeted and diademed, holding in left hand standard surmounted by bird, right hand in front of breast. The Greek legend is "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshko Koshāno Shāo." On the reverse is the draped figure of the goddess Nanaia to right diademed and nimbate, crescent on head, sword at waist, holds sceptre and patera. The Greek legend is: "NANA." To right the Huvishka symbol.

COPPER COIN TYPES

Cunningham[111] has observed three obverse types of Huvishka's copper coins: —

Type I[112]: The king is represented as riding an elephant with sceptre or spear (according to Gardner) in right hand, and an elephant-goad (ankuśa) in left hand. Legend in corrupt Greek characters: "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshko Koshāno".

Type II[113]: King radiate seated on a throne, right leg raised up and resting on seat, left leg hanging down.

Type III[114]: King seated cross-legged on cushions in Indian fashion, Other varieties also will be shown in course of discussion on different classes of Huvishka's copper coins.

Class I: With type I are obtained the following varied reverses: —

I. *Athsho type*[115]: The Greek legend is "ATHSHO". God of metals to left with wreath in right hand and tongs in left hand. To left the Kadphises symbol,

II. *Ardoksho type*[116]: Greek legend "ARDOKSHO". Female deity to right, diademed and nimbate, holds cornucopiae. To right is the Huvishka symbol.

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111 N. Chron. 1892, p. 102.
112 B. M. C. Pl. XXIX, 2.
113 Ibid, XXIX, 5, 6.
114 Ibid, XXIX, 4.
115 P. M. C., 1, Kushāṇa coin No. 148.
116 Ibid, Kushāṇa coin No. 161.

*Var. a: The female-deity to left, nimbate, holding in extended right hand, wreath, and in left hand cornucopiae. (B.M.C.: Huvishka coin No: 145).

III. *Herakles type*[117]: Greek legend "ERAKILO." Herakles to right, holds in right hand, club, left hand raised to head. To right is the Huvishka symbol.

IV. *Mao type*[118]: Moon-god to left, crescent behind shoulders, right hand extended, with left grasps sword. The Greek legend is "MAO". To left the Huvishka symbol.

*Var. a: The deity holds wreath and sword. (B.M.C. Huvishka Coin No. 152),

*Var. b[119]: The inscription MAO accompanying the figure of a female deity to left, nimbate, holding in both hands cornucopiae. To left is the Huvishka symbol.

V. *Mihira type*[120]: With different spellings in the Greek legend: MIIOPO, MIIPO and MOPPO, Sun-god appears as standing to left, radiate, right hand extended, with left hand grasps sword. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

*Var. a: The deity appears with nimbus, and left hand holding sceptre, (B. M. C.: Huvishka coin No. 156).

VI. *Oesho type*: Greek legend "OESHO". Śiva standing to left, four-armed, holds wreath, thunderbolt, trident and goat. To left is the Kadphises symbol. (B.M.C.: Huvishka Coin No. 158).

*Var a[121]: Śiva holds in the fourth hand vase instead of goat.

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117 B. M. C. Pl. XXIX, 1.
118 Ibid, XXIX, 2.
119 P. M. C. I Kushāṇa coin No. 146, Pl. XVIII.
120 B. M. C. Huvishka Coin No. 153.
121 Ibid, Pl. XXIX, 3.

*Var. b[122]: Śiva is found standing to left, two-armed, holding in right hand, trident, in left hand vase and lion's skin. To left is the Huvishka symbol and to right is the Naṇḍipada-Triśula symbol.

VII. *Nana type*[123]: Draped goddess with short sceptre to right. To right is the symbol.

VIII. *Pharro type*[124]: Male-deity to left with long sceptre in left hand and purse in outstretched right hand. To left is the Huvishka symbol.

IX. *Oado type*[125]: Greek legend "OADO". Wind-god running to left. To left is the Huvishka symbol.

X. *Loe type*[126]: Greek legend "ḶOE". Deity nimbate, with fillet on outstretched right hand. To left is the Huvishka symbol. The figure on this coin resembles that of Athsho.

XI. *GANEŚA Type*[127]: Archer standing to right holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. No symbol. Legend seems to be in Brahmī characters read by Smith as "Gaṇeśo".

Class II: With type III of obverse there are the following reverse types:—

I. *ATHSHO Type*[128]: Male-deity to left, holds wreath in extended right hand. To left the Kadphises symbol. On the Punjab Museum specimens, the deity is found with fillet and tongs. Greek legend: "ATHSHO".

II. *Mao type*[129]: Moon-god to left, crescent behind shoulders, left hand advanced, with left hand grasping sword. To left is the Kadphises symbol. Greek legend: "MAO".

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122 B. M. C. Huvishka's Coin No. 160.
123 P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 158.
124 Ibid. Kushāṇa Coin No. 159.
125 Ibid, Kushāṇa Coin No. 155.
126 I. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 164.
127 Ibid. I, Pl. XIII, 3 Huvishka Coin No. 46.
128 B. M. C. Huvishka Coin No. 166.
129 P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 190.

III. *Mihira type*[130]: Sun-god to left radiate, right hand advanced, and with left hand grasping sword. To left is the Kadphises symbol. Greek legend: "MIOPO" or "MEIPO".

IV. *NANA Type*[131]: Nanaia to right, nimbate, holding sceptre, to right, the Kadphises symbol. Greek legend: "NANA".

V. *ARDOKSHO Type*[132]: Female-deity to left, holds cornucopiae. To left the Kadphises symbol. Greek legend: "ARDOKSHO".

*Var. a:) The deity seems to hold a sceptre in right hand. To left is Huvishka symbol.

VI. *Oado type*[133]: Wind-god running to left. To left is the Kadphises symbol. Greek legend: "OADO".

VII. *OESHO Type*[134]: Greek legend: "OESHO". Śiva facing, head to left, has four arms and hands, in which he holds a wreath, a thunderbolt, a trident and a vase. To left the Kadphises symbol. On some coins the deity is seen holding "goat" in the fourth hand.

Class III: With the obverse types II there are the following reverse types:—

I. *Mihira type*[135]: Sun-god to left with the Kadphises symbol and the Greek legend: "MIIPO", "MIOPO".

II. *Mao type*[136]: Moon-god crescented to left with the Huvishka symbol and the Greek legend "MAO".

III. *ATHSHO Type*[137]: Greek legend: "ATHSHO". Deity to left with fillet and tongs. To left is the Kadphises symbol.

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[130] B. M. C. Huvishka's Coin No. 181.
[131] Ibid, Huvishka's Coin No. 198.
[132] Ibid, Huvishka's Coin Nos. 168, 169.
[133] P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 202.
[134] B. M. C. Pl. XXIX, 7.
[135] P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 173.
[136] Ibid, Kushāṇa Coin No, 178.
[137] P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 181.

IV. *OESHO Type*[138]: Śiva four-armed to left, holding noose, drum, long trident and gourd. To left, the Kadphises symbol.

In addition to the obverse types shown by Cunningham on Huvishka's copper coins, there are other obverse types which are described below:

Class IV: *Half length figure of King and Ahuramazda type*[139]:

On the obverse is half-length bust of fully armed king to left, a big halo round his head, and holding sceptre in left and club in right hand. The king wears a cheek-piece and a round jewelled helmet. The die being bigger than the flan, the circular legend is almost off from the field (Poddar's Collection) Greek legend blurred and truncated (Patna University Coin Collection). Legend is preserved in Patna Museum coins.

On the reverse is found a bearded male figure, nimbate, standing to left holds upright sceptre in left hand and circular wreath in outstretched right hand. Symbol to left. Greek legend: "woromozdo".

Ahura (Asura) was used in a sense in the remote Indo-Iranian period, in the early hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Avestā. In the later Iranian religious life, the word also corresponded with the 'deva' of Sanskrit. 'Majdao' however, signifies "the author of Mazdean religion" (N. Chron. 1892, p. 188). Ahura Mazda of the Avestā was the counterpart of the Ṛgvedic Varuṇa. In the Avestā Ahura Mazda is pre-eminently an ethical figure which fills the heaven with light and observes all things with his shining eye. The iconographic features of Ahura Mazda of this coin resemble to some extent those of the figure of "OAXPO" depicted in another unique coin of Huvishka (N. Chron. 1892, p. 121-122).

Class V: *King seated with head to right and deity type*:

On the obverse is the Greek inscription "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno." King diademed, to right, seated, with both legs down, not crossed, right hand at his side, left hand holding a short sceptre in front of face. The king is also found nimbate on some coins.

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[138] P. M. C. No. 182.

[139] JNSI, XIV, p. 71-72, Pl. VI, 16, 17.

The reverse has the following types:—

I. *Mihira type*[140]: Greek legend "MIIPO" Sun-god nimbate and radiate, wearing sword, to left. The symbol is (*) to left.

II. *Mao type*[141]: "MAO." Crescented deity to left. To left is the symbol shown above.

*Var. A of Class V[142]: On the obverse is shown the king with his head to left, right hand extended and left hand grasping spear. The legend of which only "O" is legible, seems to be double-struck on a Kharoshthī legend including "mi".

On the reverse is found Śiva, four armed to left. Symbol and legend are illegible.

*Var. B of Class VI[143]: On the obverse is found the king seated holding long spear, in right hand, left hand on thigh. No legend is found.

On the reverse of this type is found a deity standing to left with right hand extended. No legend is found. A modified form of the Huvishka symbol.

Class VI: *King seated with both arms raised*[144] *and deity*

On the obverse the inscription is illegible. The king is found in crouching attitude with head to left and both arms raised.

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[140] IMC. I, Huvishka Coin Nos. 67-75.

[141] P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 204.

[142] I. M. C. I, Huvishka Coin No. 75.

[143] IMC. I, Huvishka Coin No. 76.

[144] P. M. C. I, Kushāṇa Coin No. 206.

* Please see symbol chart.

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On the reverse we find the legend (Greek) "PHARRO." Figure of the deity to left with flames on outstretched right hand and sceptre in raised left hand as on gold coins.[145] To left is the symbol.

Cunningham's classification of the obverse devices of Huvishka's coins can no longer be accepted, as shown in the above discussion. To Cunningham's classification of the obverses of gold coins may be added the obverse types of "Elephant rider", "King seated crossed legged" and "King seated with standard surmounted by bird".

To Cunningham's classification of the obverse types of Huvishka's copper coins may be added the other obverse types like "King seated with two legs down" and "King seated with both arms raised".

Two silver coins of Huvishka, weighing 32 grains, are preserved in Berlin State Museum.[146] On the obverse is found three-quarter length figure of king to left, wearing a crested helmet holding a sort of sceptre in right hand and an indistinct object in left hand. At least seven Kharoshthī letters occur, though they give no sense. The Greek legend is "OESHKI KOSHAN". These are the only bi-lingual issues of the Kanishka group of Kings. It may be added here that in the "Gaṇeśa" type of copper coins of Huvishka the occurrence of Brahmī characters on the reverse is to be noticed.

On the reverse of Huvishka's silver coin are found two deities facing one another standing on a pedestal and between them monogram. Attributes of the deities are distinct. Greek legend : To left "NANA" and "OHPO" to right.

The gold coins of Huvishka can be divided into tow series on the basis of their legends. In the first series, the legend "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno" or only "Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki" appear on the obverses. In the second series, the legend "Shāonāno Shāo *Ooeshko* Koshāno Shāo" appears on the obverse. The difference is in the forms of Huvishka's name, that is, "Ooeshki" and "Ooeshko". The second form is found only on the obverse of class VI of his gold coins, where the king is represented like Mahāsena as holding a standard surmounted by a bird. But it seems difficult to surmise, on the basis of these different forms only, that there existed two kings of the same[147] name. The coins with the name of Ooeshko do not differ materially in type from those bearing the name of Ooeshki. The head-dress which distinguishes one king from the other does not come to our aid in this case. "Diadem and helmet" worn by the king of "Ooeshko" coins are also found with the bust of Huvishka represented in Type I of Cunningham.

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[145] B. M. Pl. XXVIII, 26.

[146] JNSI, XXII, 1960, p. 100-101.

Huvishka's coinage is characterised by varied obverse as well as reverse devices. Large number of coins depict the king's bust on the obverse in numerous designs. But the device "King sacrificing at an altar" is conspicuous by its absence. Some new deities, Persian Serapis, Oaninda, Sharewar, Manaobago, Greek Artemis, Uron, Roman Pallas and Indian Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, in addition to those found on Kanishka's coins, make their appearance on the reverse of Huvishka's coins. On a very few coins of Huvishka, the old tradition of bi-scriptualism is maintained by introducing Greek and Kharoshthī letters on some silver coins and Greek and Brahmī legends on the "Gaṇeśa" type of copper coins.

Inspite of the presence of a large number of Indian, Persian and Graeco-Roman deities on Huvishka's coins, he had his personal preference in the matter of his religious faith as was the case with the Buddhist King Kanishka and his predecessor Wema Kadphises described as Māheśvara,

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[147] JRAS, 1952, p. 116. F. W. Thomas suggests a translation of "mahārāja-rājātirāja-devaputrasya Huvishkasya pitāmahasya", in a fragmentary Mathura Inscription edited by Dayaram Sahni, as "Mahārāja...Huvishka, the grand father", which supplies, according to him, the name of Huvishka's grandfather and thus suggests the existence of two Huvishkas.

"devotee of Śiva". Huvishka, probably, was a devotee of Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva. The reason for this assumption is not only the appearance of Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, all different forms and names of the same deity on a large number of his coins but also the representation of Huvishka himself as 'Mahāsena' on the obverse of some of his gold coins (Class VI). Like 'Mahāsena' he is depicted as holding a standard surmounted by a bird which is the emblem of god Kārttikeya. In Kushāṇa Brahmī inscription of a mixed dialect (i.e. Brahmī & Sanskrit) discovered at Mathura,[148] Huvishka is referred to as Śara-Satava ('Sattva'-existing) mahārāja. One is reminded of the names like Śarajanman, Śarabhū etc. applied as epithets to Kārttikeya, who, according to mythology, was born among reeds by the seed of Śiva. Huvishka appears to be actually alluded to simply as 'Mahāsena' in a Kharoshthī inscription unearthed at Peshawar.[149] It is incised on a casket enshrining relics of Buddha. Line III reads: "Kaneshkasa vihāre Mahasenasa Samghārāme" (Kanishka built a vihāra to which Mahāsena added a Samghārāma). This Mahāsena may be identified with Huvishka. It should be noticed that the Yaudheyas who won victory over the Kushāṇas, adopted the figure of Kārttikeya on their coinage of the third and fourth century A. D.

COINAGE OF VĀSUDEVA

Vāsudeva is connected with Kanishka and Huvishka by the similarity of his coinage in weight, fabric, and type. and peculiarity consisting in the use of Greek legends only. The coins of Vāsudeva are common all over the Punjab and North-West India. Three of his gold coins were found in a ruined Stūpa, below Ali Masjid. There was a large number of his gold coins comprised in the treasure-trove of about 1200 dinaras found at Peshawar. The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathura region. The dates of his inscription range from the year 67 to 98, i.e., A.D. 145 to 176. The view[150] that this Vāsudeva (I) had lost his hold over Bactria and Afghanistan, because his inscriptions are found only near Mathura, goes against the evidence of findspots of the coins of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka III who must have reigned after him.

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[148] Ep. Ind. 1, 9, X, 7, Yr. 58.

[149] C. I. I., Pl. XXV, I.

The effigy on the coins of Vāsudeva shows foreign influence. But his name is Indian. The king's creed was also probably Indian. Though the Persian deities 'Nana' and 'Ardoksho' make their appearance rarely on the reverse side of the coins of Vāsudeva, the coins exhibit mainly the figure of Śiva attended by Nandī. Again the trident-battle-axe standard on the obverse, almost invariably placed beside the king sacrificing at altar, probably attests the Śaiva affiliation of the Kushāṇa monarch Vāsudeva. Among the Kushāṇas faith in Śaivism was first professed by Wema Kadphises.

The gold and copper coins of Vāsudeva show on the obverse the usual legend : "Shāonāno Shāo Bazodeo Koshāno". Though we have said above that generally the gold coins of Vāsudeva maintain the monetary standard of his predecessors, it is also true that some of the gold coins, especially the copper coins show unmistakable signs of deterioration of the monetary standard. Those rudely executed coins bearing the traces of the Greek legend 'Shāonāno Shāo Bazodeo Koshāno', were probably imitations of the coins of Vāsudeva. These seem to have been issued by his successors.

Vāsudeva's coins show a symbol (a mark) (*) which is different from those appearing on the coins of his predecessors. An interesting feature is found on a single copper specimen. This particular coin bears the name of the king in Brahmī script written perpendicularly, 'VASU'. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this coin can be attributed to Vāsudeva I. Lastly, we should note the new feature of figure of Śiva as represented on Vāsudeva's coins, with three heads and four arms.

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[150] PHAI, p. 478.

* Please see symbol chart.

The obverse devices of Vāsudeva's coins may be classified in the following way[151]:—

Type I: The king nimbate, standing to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and pointing downwards with his right hand towards a small altar. His dress is a long tunic, with trousers and Tartar boots. He wears a conical helmet and sword at his left side. Behind head there is a small flower on an upright stalk. Legend in corrupt Greek letters:— "SHĀONĀNO SHĀO BAZODEO KOSHĀNO".

Type II: The king as on Type I, with the addition of a trident over the altar. Legend as usual.

Type III: The king as on Type I. Legend is: SHĀONĀNO SHĀO BAZDEO. Here the name is shortened as 'Bazdeo' and the tribal name 'Kushāṇa' is omitted.

Type IV: The king as on Type I, Legend is very corrupt. The name of the king is spelt as BAZODEO. The tribal name is also not found.

Type V: The king as on Type I. with the addition of a trident to the left, and a symbol like the united Nandipāda Triśūla symbol and Dharma-chakra on the right. Legend as on type I.

Type VI: The king as on Type I, but the execution rough and rude. Trident to left and Nandipāda Triśūla symbol to right. Three dots overhead, three dots between feet, and six dots to right. Legend very corrupt, all the vowels being simply O.

Some varieties of these obverses are found. Some have a Svastika between the feet. One has a small circle under the left arm. The groups of dots also differ, the number being five, six, seven, or eight.

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[151] N. Chron. 1892, p. 125.

GOLD COIN TYPES

Class I: With the king as on type I on the obverse are found the following reverse types of Vāsudeva's gold coins.

NANA Type[152]: Nanaia to right, nimbate, head surmounted by crescent, holds sceptre, ending in forepart of horse, and patera. To right is the symbol of Vāsudeva. Legend in Greek : NANA.

Oesho Type[153]: Śiva facing, having three faces and two arms, holds wreath (according to Gardner) or noose (according to Cunningham and Smith) and trident. To left is the symbol of Vāsudeva. Greek legend: OESHO.

In a variation[154] of this type we find the same representation of the figure of Śiva but with bull Nandi to left. Śiva is found on some coins with elephant[155].

In another variation[156] of this type Śiva is found with three heads and four arms, in two right hands noose and water-vessel and in two left hands, trident and tiger's skin.

It has been pointed out by Cunningham that Śiva is sometimes represented as 'pāśī" (one who holds a pāśa or noose) or "pāśapati", as it is shown by the figure of Śiva in the temple of Dharmarāja in the fort of Kangra.

Class II: With the king at altar with trident as on Type II of the obverse. Vāsudeva's gold coins have the following type:

OESHO Type[157]: Greek legend "Oesho." Śiva, one-headed, facing, holds wreath (according to Gardner) or noose (according to Cunningham) and trident. Behind him is bull to left. To left is the symbol of Vāsudeva.

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[152] B. M. C. Pl. XXIX, 8.

[153] Ibid, XXIX, 9.

[154] Ibid. XXIX, 10.

[155] JNSI, XIII. 1951, p. 127.

[156] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XXIV, 9.

[157] B. M. C. Pl, XXJX, 11.

COPPER COIN TYPE

Class I : Vāsudeva's copper coins with Type II of obverse i. e., king at altar with trident, have the following reverse types: —

OESHO type[158]: Greek legend OESHO. Śiva, one-headed, facing, holds noose (according to Cunningham) or wreath (according to Gardner) and trident. Behind him bull to left. To left is the symbol of Vāsudeva.

The same reverse type is found also with the variation of the above obverse type where we get the legend "SHĀO BAZDEO." The king at altar is like Type I of obverse devices.

Sometimes a legend is so corrupt that only a few letters of the whole can be read: NOρA.

With the obverse mentioned above is found the following reverse type:

ARDOKSHO Type[159]: Rude figure of throned goddess holding fillet in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand. Traces of Greek legend which stands for 'ARDOKSHO'. Symbol of Vāsudeva is found in the field.

COINS WITH NAME "VASU"

Gold Coin Types[160]: *King at altar with trident and Ardoksho*: On the obverse is represented the king to left, at altar wearing coat and pointed cap, long sceptre adorned with ribbons in his left hand. Trident with ribbon over altar. Brahmī legend: "VASU," vertically under left arm; "vi" between king's feet. On other coins 'bh' or 'sa' is found to left.

On the reverse is the throned goddess, facing holding cornucopiae. Vāsudeva symbol to left. Corrupt Greek legend which stands for 'ARDOKSHO'.

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[158] B. M. C. Vāsudeva's Coins No. 10.

[159] I. M. C. I, Vāsudeva's Coins No. 35.

[160] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XXIV, 12; in the Indian Museum there are seven specimen of this type.

Copper Coin Type[161]: *Name 'Vasu' and Vasudeva Symbol.*

On the obverse is found the name written perpendicularly, VASU, in Brahmī letter. On the reverse is found the symbol of Vāsudeva occupying the entire field,

It is very difficult to state whether the coins bearing the legend "Vasu" in Brāhmī characters belong to Vāsudeva I or to one of his successors with the same name. The characteristic new features of these coins is the presence of Brahmī script on the obverse and debased Greek script on the reverse. They mark a break in the tradition of inscribing legends in Greek script appearing on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I. But the appearance of Vāsudeva I's symbol on these coins makes it probable that they belong to the same monarch. It seems that the occurrence of Brahmī letters on the coins of Vāsudeva I started a new convention which was followed by his successors.

But, the coins with the name of "Vasu" seem to be barbarous imitations of the coins of Vāsudeva I and are rudely executed. So there is more likelihood of those coins belonging to Vāsudeva II who is apparently identified with Po-tiao.[162] It is known from Chinese sources that the Ta-Yue-Chi king Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 A. D. and received the title "King of the Ta-Yue-Chi allied to the Wei."

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[161] N. Chron. 1892, Pl. XXIV, 1.

[162] C. I. I. Vol. II, Part 1, p. LXXVII.

CHAPTER IV

LAST PHASE OF THE KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

SECTION I

Coinage of the Successors of Vasudeva I: Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II.

The gold coinage of the Kushāṇas did not cease after the death of Vāsudeva I. The Greek inscriptions on these later coins are debased and illegible. Two or three stray Brahmī letters usually found on their obverse are apparently abbreviations having significance which is a subject of speculation. Such letters were taken by Mr. R. D. Banerji[1] as giving the initial letters of the names of the issuer, the mint and the province. Altekar[2] suggests that they stand for only the initials of the names of the Satraps or governors through whose agency Kanishka III may have ruled his dominions. It is to be noted that stray letters like these are also found on the later issues of the Indo-Greeks, and of the Guptas.

The coins of the later Kushāṇa rulers probably constituted the currency of both the Kabul valley and the Punjab from date of Vāsudeva I's death until the settlement of the Kidara-Kushanas in Gandhara. The relative age of the different classes of these coins issued during this period may be determined by their nearness to and remoteness from the originals from which they were copied. The later Kushāṇa coins, grouped under Class A by Cunningham[3] on which the names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva can still be read seems to be older than those grouped under Class B[4] on which only a few traces of Greek letters remain.

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[1] JASB (N. S.), Vol. 4, 1908, pp. 81-93.

[2] N. H. I. P. Vol. 6, p. 14.

[3] N. Chron., 1893, p. 115, Pl. VIII.

[4] Ibid, p. 120, PL. IX.

The obverse is the same on all coins, i.e. "King standing at altar", as on the coins of Vāsudeva I. But the reverse represents two types, that is "Oesho" or Śiva and "Ardoksho" or Lakshmī. The coins of those two types were probably current in centres of Vishṇu and Śiva worship respectively.[5]

According to Rapson[6] the coins of the 'Oesho' type belong to the Kabul valley imitated by the Kushano-Sassanians. The coins of the 'Ardoksho' type belong to the more eastern portion of the Kushāṇa dominions. They were imitated by the Kidara-Kushāṇas and the Imperial Guptas.

These two types, Śiva and Lakshmī, were derived by the Later Great Kushāṇas from their predecessors. But it does not seem probable, as we shall see later, that all the coins bearing 'Ardoksho' type were struck by the Later Great Kushāṇas who mechanically repeated the names used by their predecessors in the Greek inscriptions on the obverse.

The obverse of the Later Great Kushāṇa[7] coins presents the same uniform type: King nimbate, to left with peaked helmet and complete suit of chain mail making an offering with right hand over a small altar. Long trident or spear in left hand. The inscriptions on the obverse are all in debased Greek characters, which, when nearly complete, give the names and Kushāṇa titles of Kanishka and Vāsudeva: "SHĀONĀNO SHĀO KANESHKO KOSHĀNO" or "SHĀONĀNO SHĀO BĀZODEO KOSHĀNO". Along with the principal Greek legends there are minor ones in Brahmī.

The reverse of these coins has the following types:—

OESHO Type: Greek legend OESHO. Two-armed Śiva standing to front, with noose in right hand and long trident in left hand. Behind him a bull standing to left.

Ardoksho type: Greek legend "ARDOKSHO." Goddess seated on throne to front, holding fillet and cornucopiae.

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[5] N. Chron. 1893, p. 115.

[6] Indian Coins, p. 19.

[7] I. M. C. I. "Coins of Kings of North West India, using names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva, in third century A. D." Nos. 1-10.

It is noticed that on the obverse of the "OESHO" type the king is represented as holding spear or sceptre, while on the obverse of the "Ardoksho" type the king is found holding a trident.

The stray Brahmī letters[8] on the obverse of the coins of all Later great Kushāṇas are found in different parts of the field (both on the "Ardoksho" and "Oesho" types).

(1) On the left, near the King's right foot;
(2) In the middle, between the King's feet;
(3) On the right, outside the King's spear or trident.

On the obverse of the "Ardoksho" type of coins of Kanishka (III) the following Brahmī letters occur:—

On the left: HA, NYA, SA, KHU, BHA, VAI.
In the Middle: THA, CHU, GA, CHHU, PU.
On the right: PA, VI, VIRU, VASU, CHHU, SI, MAHI, BHRI.

The obverse of other type, viz. 'Oesho' type has the following Brahmī letters:—

On the left: GA, HA
In the middle: GHO, THA
On the right: HU, AUM, PHRI.

On the obverse of 'OESHO' type of Vāsudeva II's coins the Brahmī letters to be noticed are:—

On the left: RAJU
In the middle: GHO
On the right: RADA, PRI, HO.

The syllables on the right as shown above appear to be the initial letters of the names of the satraps or governors by whom the coins were issued with the names of their sovereigns also inscribed. Thus Vāsu(deva), Viru(pāksha), Mahī (dhara) etc. were probably some of the satraps engaged by the Kushāṇa overlords. Vāsu(deva) may be identified with Vāsudeva II[9], the son and successor of Kanishka III who may have begun his career as a provincial governor. The coins of Kanishka III with the name of Vāsudeva have been found in Seistan, which may suggest that the latter was in charge of that region as its governor. Virupāksha and Mahīdhara may have been governors of the Punjab and Afghanistan.

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[8] N. Chron. 1893, p. 119-120; JASB (NS) Vol. 4, 1908, pp. 84-88.

[9] N. H. I. P., p. 14.

But no similar suggestion can be made about the meaning of some syllables like Vi, Si, Bhri, etc. because of the abbreviated forms used.

The other syllables may generally be taken as initial letters of names of mint-towns and provinces.[10] Thus "Pa" may stand for Puruṣapura (i. e. Peshawar), "Na" for Nagarahāra (i.e. Jalalabad), "Ga" for Gandhāra, and "Chu" and "Khu" for tribes of the Chutsas and the Kshudrakas living in the upper and the middle Indus valley.

Letters like Rada, Phri and Ha, which appear on some of Vāsudeva II's coins in the same position as those on Kanishka's coins may similarly stand for names of governors under him.

The existence of Kanishka III as distinguished from Kanishka I and Kanishka II is proved by numismatic evidence only. The symbol appearing on the coins of this ruler is that of Vāsudeva I and not of Kanishka I. So he must have come to the throne before or after Vāsudeva I. But the corrupt Greek script and the introduction of Brahmī letters on the coins of this Kanishka, make it impossible to place him before Vāsudeva I. So he must have come after Vāsudeva I. The coins of this Kanishka II are fairly numerous, hence he may have reigned for a fairly long period. They are found in the Punjab, Seistan and Afghanistan, which may have thus been included in his kingdom.

The existence of Vāsudeva II is also known from numismatic evidence. His coins are to be differentiated from those of Vāsudeva I, as, they show greater deterioration in monetary standard and debasement of Greek script. The

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[10] JASB (NS) Vol. IV, pp. 83-86.

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symbol is also different.[11] Coins of Vāsudeva II with "Śiva and Bull' type are found in Bactria and Afghanistan. Like his predecessor Kanishka III, Vāsudeva II also permitted the initials of his governors to be put on their coins. These indicate that the governors in the Punjab were becoming powerful.

Judging from the execution of the coins, Smith has placed Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II in the third century A.D.[12] while he places 'Vasu' or Vāsudeva about two hundred A.D. According to his Laukika era theory "Vasu" becomes to some extent a contemporary of Vāsudeva I. But Cunningham[13] has described some coins of 'Vasu' which bear on their obverse the full Greek legend as found on the coins of Kanishka III: "SHĀONĀNO SHĀO KANESHKO KOSHĀNO". Probably "Vasu" for some time acknowledged the suzerainty of Kanishka III. Consequently, it becomes impossible to place "Vasu" in 200 A.D. before Kanishka III. R. D. Banerji[14] distinguishes the coins of "Vasu" mainly found in Seistan from the coins of Vāsudeva II found in the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab. But numismatic evidence is not strong enough to support the existence of Vāsudeva III with whom he proposes to identify Vasu. Vāsudeva II who ruled upto the middle of the third century A.D., was the last ruler of the Imperial Kushāṇa dynasty.

That Vāsudeva II was the Kushāṇa monarch overthrown by the Sassanians is made certain by the evidence of the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coinage[15] issued by the governors of Bactria. The Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins bear on the reverse 'Śiva and Bull' which was the only type issued by Vāsudeva II. This type is known to have been current in Bactria. The new conqueror of a particular territory or country generally used to imitate the currency which had been previously in use there under settled conditions. The Sassanians, conquerors of Bactria and India, for example, imitated the coinage of the Kushāṇa monarchs whom they supplanted.

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[11] NHIP, p. 16.

[12] I. M. C. I. P. 87.

[13] N. Chron, 1993, p 118-119.

[14] JASB (NS), Vol. 4, p. 88.

[15] NHIP, p. 18.

Nothing can be said with certainty about the successors of Kanishka III and Vasudeva II in North-Western India. But it seems that the western, central Punjab and tracts on the other side of the Indus were subject to three tribes, whose names have been known from the coins as Shākas, Shilādas, and Gaḍaharas.

Coinage of Sundry Tribal Chiefs in North-West India

A large number of coins of the Shākas, have been discovered in western Punjab near about Peshawar. Nothing is known about their relation with the Kushāṇa monarchs, Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. But the coin-types of the Shākas closely resemble those of the Kushāṇas. On the obverse of the Shāka coins appears the Kushāṇa-type "King standing and sacrificing at an altar" and their reverse bears "Enthroned goddess ARDOKSHO". The legend on the obverse is in Brahmī and contains the names of the Shāka tribe and the tribal chiefs. The reverse legend is in corrupt Greek and contains the traces of the name of the goddess enthroned. The metal of the coins is debased gold and the execution is rude and barbarous.

The Kushāṇa coin-type of 'King standing and sacrificing at an altar' on the obverse and 'Enthroned goddess Ardoksho' on the reverse was also imitated on the coins of the Shilādas and the Gaḍaharas who probably ruled in some parts of central Punjab. Their coins are made of debased gold and their style and execution were rude and clumsy. The Brahmī legend on the obverse contains the names of the Chiefs of the tribe and traces of corrupt Greek legend on the reverse stand for the name of the goddess.

The Shāka coinage may justly be placed after the coinage of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II. The Shilāda coinage was not far off in point of time from the Shāka coinage. The Gaḍahara coinage has been placed in the 5th century, by

R. D. Banerji, as the Brahmi 'GA' of the coin-legends closely resembles Brahmī 'GA' of the fifth century A. D.[16] It may not be impossible to conclude that the portions of the Punjab came under the Chiefs of the Shākas, the Shilādas and the Gaḍaharas not earlier than about the middle of the third century A. D.

The gold coinage of this class present the remains of Greek legends in the margin in the reverse. But the letters are illegible and seem to be a mere repetition of O. The Brahmī letters appear in two or three places in the field of the obverse: (a) outside the king's spear,—on the right, (b) under the king's arm,—middle, and (c) under the king's right hand near the altar,—on the left. The arrangement of these letters is just like that on the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II.

Cunningham[17] preferred to take the letters outside the spear as indicating places, the seats of distinct satrapies and looked upon the names under the arm as those of the satraps or provincial governors tributary to the great Kushāṇa kings of Gandhāra. But F. W. Thomas' suggestion that the Brahmī letters outside the spear indicate the names of different Scythian tribes and those under the king's arm stand for the names of the kings of the tribes, is more reasonable. On the right field of the obverse of these coins, that is, outside the spear, the following names in Brahmī are found: SHĀKA, SHILĀDA, and GAḌAHARA. The reading 'Shāka' has been accepted by all scholars as a tribal name, while Cunningham thinks that the term is intended to refer to the city of Śākala (Sialkot), capital of the Eastern Punjab, which was the residence of the Greek king Menander. The name 'Shilāda' was previously read as 'Shaṇḍi' by Thomas[18], as 'Pakandhi' or 'Pakaldhi' by Cunningham[19], as 'Shalada' by

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[16] J. A. S. B. (N. S.), vol. IV, 1908, p. 93.
[17] N. Chron. 1893, p. 121.
[18] I. A., XII, p. 8.
[19] N. Chron, 1893, p. 123.

Smith[20]. R. D. Banerji's reading as 'Shilāda'[21] has been accepted by all scholars. The reading of the name 'Gaḍahara' is beyond doubt, though Cunningham, with his preconceived idea of reading place-names on the right field of the obverse of coins, suggested the reading as "Nagarahāra", ancient city near Jalalabad in the middle of the Kabul Valley.

In the middle field of the obverse, that is, under the king's arm, are found some Brahmī syllables. The coins of the Shākas show the following syllables: MI, SITA, BHA, BHRI, SAYATHA, PRA, SALYA, SENA. These are, as it has already been stated, the names of the kings of the tribe. Scholars are not unanimous as to the readings of the syllables. Cunningham reads 'SAYA' instead of 'SAYATHA' which is the reading of Smith. R. D. Banerji supports Smith's reading of 'SAYATHA'. SYA or SALYA, as read by Cunningham on his coin No. 6 (N. Chron. 1893, Pl. IX), was the name of a prince other than SAYATHA. 'Sita' is the name of another prince found by Smith on the Indian Museum specimens of SUNDRY CHIEFS Nos. 6, 7 and 8. The name SENA or SANA is an addition to the list of the names of the Tribal chiefs. Smith finds on the coins of SUNDRY CHIEFS Nos. 9, 10, 11, the name of SANA, while R. D. Banerji reads SENA on some of those coins re-examined by him. PRA, MI, and BHA are probably the initials of four other members. The dynasty of the Shākas probably ruled for about a century and may well have consisted of seven kings known from coins.

The coins of the Shilādas show in the middle field of the obverse the names of BHADRA, PĀSHAN, and BACHARṆA. The name PĀSHAN was read as 'Bāshan' by Cunningham[22] as 'Pāsaka' by V. Smith[23]. On a re-examination of the coins, R. D. Banerji reads 'Pāsana' correctly. The name of 'Bacharṇa' has been read by Smith on the coin of Sundry Chief No. 12. The name 'Bhadra' is found on Cunningham's

[20] I. M. C. I, p. 88-89.

[21] J. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. IV, 908, p. 90.

[22] N. Chron., 1893, Pl IX, No. 13.

[23] I. M. C., I, Sundry Chief No. 14.

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coin No. 12 (N. Chron, 1893, Pl. IX) as well as on the Indian Museum specimen of Sundry chief No. I. The Shilāda tribe, ruling over central Punjab was probably supplanted by the Gaḍaharas.

The coins of the Gaḍaharas show the names of PERAYA, KIRADA, and SAMUDRA[24]. R. D. Banerji reads 'Perayasa' instead of 'Peraya'. The name 'Kirada' is also found as a variant on the coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. It has been suggested that the name 'Samudra' is probably that of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta. The resemblance between Samudra's coin and the Spearman type of Samudragupta's coin is so great that it may not be wrong to surmise that the Gaḍahara tribe ultimately acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta.

In the left field of the obverses of coins, that is under the king's right hand near altar, are found some Brahmī letters which are possibly the initials of the names of mint-towns. Those are given below by the side of other legends seriously :—

Left field (Initials of the mint-towns)	Middle field (Names of the Kings)	Right field (Names of the tribe)
Khai	Mi	Shāka
Bha	Sita	Shāka
Te	Bha	Shāka
—	Bhri	Shāka
Bha	Sayatha	Shāka
Bha	Salya	Shāka
Bha	Pra	Shāka
Vi	Sena	Shāka
—	Bhadra	Shilāda
Nu	Pashan	Shilāda
—	Bacharṇa	Shilāda
Kapan	Perada	Gaḍahara
Kapan	Kirada	Gaḍahara
Pu	Samudra	Gaḍahara
Ga	Chhu (3)[25]	—

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24 N. Chron. 1893, Pl. IX, Nos. 9, 10, 11.

25 I. M. C. I, Pl XIV, 9. It is not known to be the king belongs. On the reverse of his coin occurs a symbol (*) (I. M. C. I.)

* Please see symbol chart.

On the reverse of coins of the Shākas is found the symbol of Vāsudeva (Pl. VII, I. M. C. No. 162), as for example, the coins of Sita, Sena etc. Again, the same symbol of Vāsudeva is noticed in a slightly modified form (Pl. VII, No. 165. I. M. C. I.) on the coins of the Shilādas, as for example, the coins of Bacharṇa, Pāshana etc.

R. D. Banerji[26] associates the Gaḍaharas with the Kidāra-Kushāṇas adducing the following grounds in support of his view. Firstly, the 'GA' in Gaḍahara resembles the Brahmī 'GA' of the fifth century A.D. Secondly, the syllable "Kshuṇa" so common on the coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas occurs on all but one of the coins of the Gaḍaharas. Thirdly, the name 'Kirada' occurring on the coins of the Gaḍaharas is also found on some coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. It may be that the Gaḍaharas ruling over Central Punjab were, for some time, tributary to the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. But, latter on, when the power of the Kidara-Kushāṇas was on the wane due to their submission to the Sassanids, the Gaḍaharas changed their allegiance from the Kushāṇas to Samudragupta.

The numismatists like Altekar, find in the Brahmī script used in the legend "Samudra" on Gaḍahara coins no sufficient ground for not placing them during Samudragupta's riegn. A diplomatic alliance with Samudragupta was found useful by the "Daivaputro Shāhi Shāhānushāhi" of the North-west. On grounds of expediency, the Gaḍahara chiefs of the Punjab may have placed themselves under the overlordship of the Gupta Emperor in the critical period of Kushāṇa-Sassanian conflict. This was indeed an opportunity for Samudragupta to extend his sphere of influence to the West and to be geographically closer to the Kushāṇas who had become his allies. The Gaḍaharas do not seem to have been a strong power at this time, as the rude style and execution of their coins show.

The main group of the gold coinage of Vāsudeva I is struck in a fabric similar to that of his predecessors, Kanishka and Huvishka, but, at one point in his reign, it divides into two distinct branches. One of these is distinguished by the Triratna symbol which evolves into the Kushāṇo-Sassanian series. The second, distinguished by the use of a series of Brahmī letters, which develops towards the first issues of the Gupta dynasty seems to belong to an area well east of the Indus ruled over by the later Great Kushāṇas who have been called by Bivar as Muruṇḍas[27].

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[26] J. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. 41, 1908, p. 92.

This division of the main Kushāṇa coinage after Vāsudeva I lends support to the conclusion drawn by Ghirshman[28] from the independent evidence of the excavations at Begram that the Kushāṇa power was broken by the Sassanians not too long after Vāsudeva.

SECTION II

Kushano-Sassanian Coinage

Attempts have previously been made by numismatists like Cunningham,[29] Herzfeld,[30] Bataille[31] and Bivar[32] to classify the Kushano-Sassanian coinage. While the former two scholars arranged the coinage reign by reign ruler-wise, the latter two scholars have made coin-fabric the criterion for classification of the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin series.

For a proper and systematic arrangement of the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coinage one has to depend on internal evidence. Inscrtptions on the coins inscribed in Kushāṇa cursive or Pahlavi supply one with the names of the kings who issued them. But, sometimes, the coin-legends are blundered and illegible, through wear. In such cases, marks for identification may be looked for in the head-dresses portrayed on the affected coins. In the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin-series, each ruler seems to be designated by his peculiar head-dress. Distinction may be drawn even when two rulers are found to bear the same name.

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[27] J. N. S. I, 1956, p. 38. The question of the "Muruṇḍas" has been examined in connection with "Puri-Kushāṇa" coinage.

[28] Begram, p 99 ff.

[29] N. Chron. 1893, p. 166.

[30] Paikuli, I, 35-51; M. A. S. I. No 38.

[31] Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans et des Koushanshahs Sassanides, Arethuse, 1928, p. 19 ff.

[32] J. N. S. I, Vol. XVIII, 1956, p. 13 ff.

The Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins are found generally from the districts on the Oxus, to the north of the Paropanisus. They are also found in the Kabul Valley. Excavations at Begram show that the city was sacked by the Sassanid king Shapur, in the period between A. D. 241 and 250. As the coins of Vāsudeva were the latest of the Kushāṇa remnants found at that place it may be inferred that Shapur possibly conquered the region after the death of Vāsudeva I, whose descendants had to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sassanian lords.

Ardeshir I (A.D. 226-41), the first Sassanid emperor of Persia, established his supremacy over Bactria and received messengers from the "Kings of Kushan, Turan and Makran". He followed the practice of appointing crown-princes as governors in the conquered provinces. Such governors issued their own coins and their are certain such specimens having on the reverse 'Śiva and bull', the type that was prevalent in Bactria and Afghanistan under Vāsudeva II. The crown-princes deputed as governors enjoyed the privilege of using the title 'Kushān-shāh', "the king of the Kushāṇas", on their coins. From the middle of the third century A.D. onward this title was changed into 'Kushān-Shāhān-shāh', "the King of Kings of the Kushāṇas."[33]

A criterion may be applied in connecting the types used with regions of their origin. Thus the coins bearing 'OESHO' (in Greek) on the reverse, with type of "Śiva and bull Nandi" derived from the earlier Kushāṇa types of Vāsudeva, belong to the Kabul Valley. They were imitated by the Kushāṇo-Sassanians. The coins bearing 'ARDOKSHO' (in Greek) on the reverse, with type of 'Enthroned goddess', belong to the more eastern portion of the Kushāṇa dominions, that is, probably the western Indus Valley. They were imitated by the Later Kushāṇas and the Guptas.

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[33] M. A. S. I, 38, p. 33.

The Kushāṇo-Sassanian gold coins are evolved from the gold coins of Vāsudeva, the last of the Great Kushāṇas, as it has already been stated. On the obverse of Vāsudeva's coinage appears the king standing and sacrificing at an altar and on the reverse Śiva standing in front of the bull, with the device of Vāsudeva above, left and to the right the legend 'OESHO' in Kushāṇa cursive script. The first step in the development in the Kushāṇo-Sassanian pattern, is distinguished by the presence of Tri-ratna symbol in the obverse field to right. The coins are thin, wide-spread and saucer-shaped. The figures of the king represented on coins are larger and coarser, the king's head being disproportionately enlarged. The king's mail skirt forms throughout a straight and horizontal line. The inscription is clumsy and frequently blundered. These features become accentuated with the passage of time. On the obverse of the coins of the first Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin-series is found corrupt Greek legend "Shāonāno Shāo Bāzodeo Koshāno."

The king's head-dress remains unchanged as a conical helmet or tiara apparently covered with rows of jewels. These coins are considered as posthumous issues in the name of Vāsudeva, issued by the first Sassanian conqueror of the Kushāṇa empire.

Later the specimens become broader and more convex. The Greek legend becomes more corrupt and the script approaches the cursive Kushāṇa type. On the obverse the king standing and sacrificing at an altar is still represented and on the reverse Śiva in front of bull remains. But the type is ruder in execution. The head-dress of the king decidedly assumes the Sassanian character. The king wears the Sassanian trousers. A deity on the reverse similar in appearance to that on Vāsudeva's coinage, wears trousers of the Sassanian type instead of Indian dhoti. The 'Svastika' symbol appears between the feet of the king. So far the inscriptions are concerned, the names of Sassanid monarchs appear instead of Bazodeo on the obverse and on the reverse 'OESHO' is replaced by the legend 'Varzavand yazado', "the exalted god".

Further changes are noticed on some gold and silver coins of the Sassanian fabric. On the obverse appears a bust of king to right instead of king standing at altar. On the reverse the deity is gradually replaced by the king standing and extending his right hand above a small altar by the side of which a deity is found either enthroned or standing. The name of the king is given both on the obverse and the reverse.

The Kushāṇo-Sassanian coinage exhibits further differences in style and execution. On the obverse appears as usual the bust of the king, while on the reverse is represented a large fire-altar surmounted by a divine bust. This type is found on small bronze and large copper coins.

The king's crowns portrayed on the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins are of various kinds. Each ruler is characterised by his peculiar head-dress, Shapur's head-dress is known by the presence of the mural crown. Ardeshir I's crown consists of palmettes surmounted by four pearls. Ardeshir II's head-dress consists of an entire bird, with wings raised above its back and pearl hanging from back. Firuz's crown has a fluted head-band surmounted by a row of six large pearls. Hormizd I's helmet is terminated by open-mouthed lion's head. Firuz II wears fluted circlet surmounted by a globe artichoke within crescent. Hormizd II's crown is composed of a circlet of five large pearls surmounted by a pair of wings and 'artichoke'. Varahran I's crown consists of band of four zigzags below and row of seven pearls above, all surmounted by 'artichoke'.

The broad, thin and convex gold coins[34] which are called gold scyphates were issued by Hormizd I Kushānshāh, Varahran I Kushānshāh and Varahran II Kushānshāh. On the obverse of the coins the king, wearing his characteristic head-dress, is represented standing and sacrificing at an altar. The legends on the obverse are written in Kushāṇa cursive script: "Hormizd Vuzurg Kushānshāh", or Hormozdo Vuzurko Kushāno Shāho or Shāhān Shāho on the coins of Hormizd I; "Bago Varahrano Ozoro Kushāno Shāho" on the coins of Varahran I; and "Bago Varahrano Vuzurko Kushāno Shāho" on the coins of Varahran II, On the reverse of the coins appears "Śiva with bull," the legend being "burza-Vand iazada", "exalted god".

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[34] JNSI, Vol XVIII, 1956, Pl. I, Nos. 1-9, pp. 10-13.

A few silver drachmas of Sassanian fabric[35] were issued by Firuz I Kushānshāh. On the obverse of these coins is displayed the bust of the king with his characteristic head-dress. The legend is in Pahlavi: mzdyan bgy pylwzy RB' Kwsan MLK, "the Mazda-worshipping divinity Firuz, great Kushan Shah."

On the reverse appears the king, distinguished by his head-gear, stands half right, extending right hand above a small altar. On right an enthroned deity sits half left. The legend in Pahlavi runs thus: on right, bwld 'yndy yzty', "exalted god" and on left, 'plwzy MLK,' "King Firuz."

A large number of small bronze coins are found with the names of Shapur, Ardeshir I Kushān Shāh, Ardeshir II Kushānshāh, Firuz I Kushānshān, Hormizd I Kushānshāh, Firuz II, Hormizd II, Varahran I and Varahran II. On the obverse of the coins of Shapur, the king, distinguished by his head-dress, stands holding a sceptre in left hand and extends right hand towards a small altar. The legend is in Kushāṇa cursive script: "sabara Kushāṇa Shao". On the reverse is found Mithra, radiate, enthroned half right, extending diadem in right hand. The legend in Kushāṇa cursive script is 'Bago Miiro', "god Mihira".

On the obverse of the coins of Ardeshir I is represented bust of the king wearing his characteristic crown. The legend in Pahlavi is 'Mz dyan bgy rthsatr RB' Kws'n MLK', "The

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[35] JNSI, XVIII, Pl. II, No. 16-17.

Mazda-worshipping divinity Ardeshir, great Kushānshāh". On the reverse of the coins is found deity enthroned to front under cupola, and extending diadem in right hand. The inscription is illegible. On the obverse of the coins of Ardeshir II is bust of the king wearing his characteristic head-dress with illegible inscription. On the reverse of his coins is king on right, distinguished by his head-dress, raising right hand towards a female deity, on right, who wears a mural crown and extends diadem in right hand. The legend in Pahlavi is 'rthsatr MLK', "King Ardeshir".

On the obverse of the coins of Firuz I is bust of king wearing his distinguishing head-dress. On the reverse is found "Śiva and bull". On the obverse of the coins of Firux II appears bust of king with characteristic head-dress and the Pahlavi legend is 'pylwzys', "Firuz". On the reverse of his coins is fire-altar with diadem round shaft, and anthropomorphic bust rising amid flames from top, with left hand holding sceptre and right diadem. The inscription in Pahlavi is 'burz yndy yzty' "exalted god."

On the obverse of the coins of Hormizd I Kushānshāh the king appears either with pointed helmet or lion cap, standing and sacrificing at an altar. The traces of Pahlavi legend are: 'whrmzdy MLK', "King Hormizd". According to the reverse devices this class of Hormizd I's coins may be divided into three groups: (a) Those coins with Śiva and Bull type, (b) the coins with king before enthroned deity type, like that of Firuz I's silver coins, and (c) the coins with Fire-altar with divine bust at the top. The Pahlavi legend on the reverse is as usual 'burz yndy yzty', "exalted god". On the obverse of the coins of Hormizd II occurs the bust of king with characteristic head-dresses along with the same Pahlavi legend as found on the obverse of Hormizd I's coins. The reverse device and legend are also same as those found on Hormizd I's coins.

Large copper coins[36] were also issued by the Sassanian rulers like Shapur, Firuz I, Hormizd I, Firuz II, Varahran I

[36] JNSI, XVIII, 1956, Pl. IV, Nos. 32-38.

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etc. On these coins are found inscriptions in Kushāṇa cursive only. Bust of the kings with their respective head-dresses are displayed on the obverses, while the reverse device is all along large fire-altar surmounted by divine bust.

The Sassanians at first adopted from the Kushāṇas their coin-type: 'King standing and sacrificing at an altar' on the obverse and 'Śiva and Bull' on the reverse. In the next stage, the obverse device was changed into "Bust of king with peculiar crown", but the reverse device 'Śiva and Bull' was retained. In some cases, 'Śiva and Bull' device was replaced by Mithra as on the coins of Shapur and by enthroned deity as on the coins of Ardeshir I. But the tradition of representing deities was maintained. Thus, in the third stage, the 'Bust of King' device was retained on the obverse but the "king standing and sacrificing at an altar" type was placed on the reverse with a deity either enthroned or standing. In this reverse device, the king is often represented as accepting a crown offered by the deity existing by the side of the altar. In the last stage of typological development in the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin-series, 'Bust of King' is maintained on the obverse, with the reverse device again changed into a "fire-altar with diadem round shaft, and anthropomorphic bust rising amid flames from top, with left hand holding sceptre and right diadem.

If the inscriptions on the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin-series are studied, we observe a gradual change. In the first stage, the Kushāṇa cursive script was adopted. The Kushāṇa cursive was accompanied by Pahlavi in the second stage. The third stage is marked by the use of Pahlavi only. The unique silver drachma of Firuz I, son of Ardeshir, presents on the reverse side the Mazda-worshipping prince and bears the title in Pahlavi: 'Mazdesn bage peroze vuzurg Kushān-shāh', "the Mazda-worshipping lord Firuz, great king of the Kushāṇas".

On the gold coins of Hormizd I, son of Shapur I, the prince-governor is described as "Mazdesn bage ohormizde vuzurg Kushān shāhān shāh, "the mazda-worshipping lord

Hormizd, great Kushāṇa King of Kings". The titles of Hormizd are more pretentious than those of Firuz. Those titles imply not only the actual dominion over Khorasan and hence over some parts of the ancient Kushāṇa empire, but also claim to the suzerainty over the whole of the empire, including the hitherto independent parts, the Kabul valley and the Punjab.[37] On a number of coins of the Kushāṇo-Sassanians, for example, coins of Hormizd I and Varahran I, there appears on the obverse right field, a short legend "Baxlo", evidently the name of mint, 'Balkh'.[38] Herzfeld thinks that all coins of the Sassanians originated from Balkh, as he states that "they come all from Badakshan, Kunduz, that is northern Afghanistan or Bactria". But the short legend, "Baxlo" is not found on the majority of the specimens. Probably at Balkh there was a branch-mint, the central mint is to be located somewhere in the upper Kabul Valley, "well-known as a nuclear territory of the Kushāṇa Empire, which later passed under Sassanian control".[39]

The coins issued by the Sassanian rulers in India may be assigned to the period between the middle of the third century A.D. snd the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Earliest specimens are to be attributed to Ardeshir I (A.D. 226-41) who established his supremacy over Bactria[40] and also to Shapur I, who is known to have destroyed the city of Begram[41] between A. D. 241-250. The later limit marks the date at which the territories on the Oxus were wrested from the Sassanians by the Epthalite Huns.

Kidāra-Kushāṇa Coinage

The Kidāra-Kushāṇas have been designated by Dr. Bivar[42] as Kidarites, who were according to him, were not Kushāṇas at all but actually Huns. But he has not given sfficient grounds against the identification of Kidāra of the coins with Ki-to-lo of the Chinese writers, the Shāhi of the Ta-Yue-ti or Great Kushāṇas who founded the kingdom of Little Yue-ti in Gandhāra and placed his son in the government of Peshawar, while he returned to the westward to repel an inroad of the White Huns. (N. Chron. Vol. XIII, 3rd Ser, p. 184). The title 'Kushāṇa' found along with the name of 'Kidāra' must be significant.

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[37] Herzfeld, Paikulii, I, p. 47.

[38] Herzfeld, Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins, P. II.

[39] JNSI, XVIII, 1956, p. 38.

[40] MacGovern, The Early Empires of Central Asia, p. 401ff; SYKES, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 394 ff.

[41] Ghirshman, Begram.

[42] JNSI, 1956, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 38.

The coins of the so-called Kidāra Kushāṇa series may be classified into three groups: (a) Gold coins bearing Kushāṇa type and Brahmī inscriptions, (b) Silver coins bearing Sassanian type and Brahmī inscriptions and very few traces of Pahlavi legend, (c) Copper coins of both Kushāṇa and Sassanian types bearing Brahmī legends.

The gold coins bearing legend "Kidāra" written perpendicularly under the king's arm on the obverse, present the names of 'Śrī Sāhi Kidāra', 'Kritavīrya', 'Sarvayaśa', 'Bhāsvan', 'Siiāditya', 'Prakāśa', 'Kuśala' on the reverse. This class of coins presents king standing and sacrificing at an altar on the obverse and enthroned goddess, probably "Ardoksho", on the reverse. On the coins of Sri Sahi Kidāra, the tribal title "Kidāra" is preceded by the term "Kushāṇa".[43]

The main dynasty of the Kidarites consisting of Kidāra and his son Piro is represented by the silver coins. On the obverse of the silver coins is represented bust of king with peculiar head-dress which is similar to the crowns of the Sassanid rulers. On the reverse of the coins is displayed fire-altar with triple-base and capital, fillet adorning shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormazd appears to right. On either side of the altar is found attendant, with plumed head-dress, facing altar with sword at the carry. The obverse legend in Brahmī is either "Kidāra Kushāṇa Shāhi" or "Shā Pirosa".

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[43] N. Chron. 1889, Pl. VI, 3, 4.

There are only two copper coins in the collection of the Indian museum. The first one resembles the gold coins in type and presents the name of 'Sri Kritavirya'.[44] The obverse of the second coin resembles the silver coin type while on the reverse is presented the name of Kshatrapa "Tarika"[45] in Brahmī without any device.

The rulers, Kritavīrya[46], Sarvayaśa[47], Bhāsvan[48], Silāditya[49], Prakāśa[50], Kusala[51], known from gold coins where ruling probably in the Punjab region, as the finds of their coins make it evident. Probably they ruled in the first half of the fifth century A.D. They were Kidāra-Kushāṇa rulers, for the tribal name 'Kidāra' always appears on the obverse of their coins. Their names show that they had been completely Hinduised by this time. For lack of positive data it is not yet possible to ascertain the exact period of their rule, their order of succession or even the limits of their territories.

There is a gold coin of Kidāra Kushāṇashāh in the Ashmolean museum.[52] It has been included by Bivar in the Gold scyphates class of the Kushāṇa-Sassanian coin-series. The legend in Kushāṇa cursive is 'Bago Kidāra Zoro Kushāṇa', "Lord Kidāra, the great Kushāṇa". The crown worn by the king is composed of a lower band consisting of four palmettes, of which three are visible surmounted by the 'artichoke'. The head-band is formed by a diadem, of which the ends were in the air behind, but below the artichoke is a similar diadem, of which the ends float on either side. Ghirshman has identified this crown with one that appears upon the Kidarite silver coins[53] identified by its Brahmī inscription as being the issue of 'Kidāra Kushāṇa Shāh'.

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[44] I. M. C., I 'Coin of the Little Yue-chi chiefs' No. 17.

[45] N. Chron, 1889, Pl. VI, 8, 9.

[46] N. Chron. 1889, Pl. VI, 11.

[47] I. M. C. I Coin of the Little Yue-chi chiefs No. 2.

[48] N. Chron. 1889, Pl. VI, 10.

[49] Ibid, Pl. VI, 12.

[50] Ibid, Pl. VI, 15.

[51] Ibid, Pl. VI, 13.

[52] JNSI, XVIII, 1956, Pl. II, 15.

In the hoard of Tepe Marinjan one scyphate of Varahram I and eleven of Kidāra were found buried with Sassanian drachmae of Shapur II (A.D. 310-379), Ardeshir II (A.D. 379-383) and Shapur III (A.D. 383-388). Since no later Sassanian coin was present, it is to be deduced that the hoard was buried at latest by A.D. 388. By this date, therefore, the gold coins of Kidāra were in full circulation and the accession date of this ruler was well before this time.[54]

The gold coin discussed above establishes a link between the gold coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇa chiefs and the silver coins of the Kidarites. On the obverse of the Kidarite silver coins busts of kings are represented in Sassanian style. The Kidarite silver has been considered by Bivar as one of the classes of the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coin-series.

The representation of busts of kings on silver is almost similar in all cases. Only the difference lies in crowns. The five types of silver coins have been distinguished by M.F.C. Martin: Kidāra I, Kidāra II, Piro I, Piro II and Varahran. The Kidāra types have some features in common, namely, bust of king diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, bushy hair, no beard, wearing ear-ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes, obverse legend in Brahmī script (Kidāra Kushāṇa Shāh) and fire-altar on the reverse surmounted by a divine bust. The differences between the two Kidāra types are the following: (a) While the bust of Kidāra type I is to right, the bust of Kidāra type II is facing (b) Kidāra type I presents crown[55] with three foliate ornaments, the centre one having five plumes and flankers, three each, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe; Kidāra type II presents mural crown[56] with three crenellated turrets, crown adorned with floating fillets and central crenellation surmounted by crescent and fluted globe.

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[53] Les chionites—Hepthalites, pp. 73-78.

[54] JNSI, XVIII, 1956, p. 19-20.

[55] Ibid, Pl. IV, No. 42.

[56] JNSI XVIII, Pl. IV, No 43.

Piro type closely resembles the Kidāra type having a few features in common, namely, bust of king diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, bushy hair on either side of neck, wearing ear-ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes. The stylistic resemblances lead to the conclusion that Piro and Kidāra were next to each other in dynastic succession. Martin suggests that Piro was the son and successor of Kidāra. Probably Kidāra committed to Piro the charge of Peshawar,[57]

The two Piro types[58] have some features in common, namely, a crown with two ram's horns surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets, small moustache, beard with end passed through a ring, and shoulders draped with palmettes. The differences between the two Piro types are: (a) While in Piro type I crown is attached with two ram's horns curving outwards and central foliate ornaments of five plumes, in Piro type II crown is attached to two ram's horns curving to back and front and central foliate ornaments of three plumes. (b) In Piro type I, bust of king is facing, while in Piro type II bust of king is to right.

The Varahran type[59] of coins are similar to Piro type II. Bust of king is to right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind, wearing crown with foliate ornaments showing three, five and three plumes respectively. The crown is adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe. Bushy hair is behind neck, small moustache and beard with end passed through ring are seen. The king wears ear-ring and necklace, his shoulders being draped in palmettes. The Piro type II and the coins of Varahran show their faces to the right. Probably Varahran IV succeeded Piro in Peshawar.

It is to be noticed that on some silver coins of the

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[57] JRASB (N.S.), 1937-38, p 28 N.

[58] Ibid, P. N. 30-40.

[59] JRASB (N. S.) 1937-38. P. N. 41.

Kidarites, bust of king is represented as full-facing, while on others it is found to right. Under the Sassanids, the representation of bust to right was a convention followed by all the feudatories of the Sassanian empire. The bust represented as facing probably indicates a greater independence. The numismatic evidence establishes the fact, according to the above rule, that the Kidarites were feudatories under the Sassanids in the first stage. In the next stage, they became independent of Sassanian control[60]. Lastly, the Kidarites had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanids.

The types on the Kidarite silver coins were influenced by the Sassanian coin types. The mural crown in Piro types resemble the crowns of Shapur and Varahran II respectively. The fluted globe surmounting the crowns of the Kidarites is found very often in the Sassanian crowns of Firuz I, Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II. Some peculiar features of the reverse devices of the Kidāra type II and Piro type I, namely, presence of supporters facing alter with sword at the carry, a bust of Hormazd with flames at the altar etc. are also to be found on the coins of the Sassanian rulers from the time of Shapur II (A. D. 310-379) to that of Varahran IV (388-399 A. D.) who flourished in the fourth century A. D. Therefore, the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage should be assigned to the period between the beginning and the end of the fourth century A. D. They maintained their precarious existence under the sway of the Sassanids and threat of the Huna invasion probably to the middle of the fifth century A. D.

After the downfall of the Imperial Kushāṇas the Kidāra-Kushāṇas seemed to have come to rule over the Kashmir Valley. Their coinage followed the main trend of the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. But it was inferior both in type and metal, style and execution.

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[60] JNSI, XVIII, 1956 Pl. V, 40. A specimen bearing a portrait with the crown of palmettes associated with Kidāra carries a Pahlavi inscription intended to read the name of Varahran. This peculiar variety, according to Bivar, may represent the transition from the reign of Varahran to that of Kidāra.

The volume of gold coins circulated by the Kidāra-Kushāṇas also seems to be considerably less than that of the Imperial Kushāṇas. The cause for this deterioration in Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage may be found in the decline of trade and commerce after the disruption of the Kushāṇa empire. The Huna invasion and the Sassanids in Persia which brought some parts of north-western India under their sway must have disturbed the normal activities of trade and commerce with Central Asian territories. This is probably the reason for the deterioration of the gold coinage of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas.

Puri-Kushana Coinage

The series of coins commonly designated as 'Puri Kushāṇa coins' come from Orissa. They have been found in the following places[61]: (a) Ganjam district, four miles west of Purushottampur close to the modern village of Pandya—found in 1858 (b) Puri District—548 copper coins—found in 1893, (c) Rakha hills in the district of Singbhum—363, coins found in 1917 (d) 910 copper coins contributed by the Collector, Balasore, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1912 and deposited in the Indian museum, (e) Bhanjakia in Panchipur Sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State—Puri-Kushāṇa coins found in association with copper issues of Kanishka and Huvishka in 1923, (f) Mayurbhanja State—282 coins, 170 Puri-Kushāṇa and 112 Imperial Kushāṇa coins, (g) Viratgarh at Khiching—Puri-Kushāṇa coins found in association with Imperial Kushāṇa coins, (h) Nuagaon, 3 miles east of Joshiapur and 3 miles west of Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj State—105 Puri-Kushāṇa coins found in 1939, (i) Sitābhanji, Keonjhar state.

Walter Elliot[62] at first opened a discussion on the coins found in the Ganjam district in 1856, expressing his surprise

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[61] A. S. I. 1924-25, p. 38; R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa Vol I pp. 111-15. JNSI, Vol. II, p. 124.

[62] MJLS, New series, No. 7, 1838, pp. 75-77, 78.

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at the close affinity of the coins with those of the Kushāṇas, more especially with those of Kanishka. A systematic study of these coins was made by Dr. Hoernle[63]. He described the coins found in the Puri district in 1893 as Puri-Kushāṇa coins. They consisted of two distinct varieties. The first variety was composed of die-struck coins, much worn down by usage, the designs on most of them being barely discernible. On some of them sufficient remains to identify them with those of the Kushāṇas. The obverse shows the standing figure of king sacrificing with his right hand over a fire-altar and the reverse displays the figures of deities like Mao, Mihira and Oada, as seen on Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. No trace of legend is discernible.

The second variety of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins consists of cast coins which are very crude imitations of Kanishka's coins. They all show two standing figures, one on each side with their arms in varying position. No legend is found on them. But the majority of the specimens bear crescent in different parts of the field. This variety of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins has been classified into several groups according to the position of the crescent on their reverses:—*Group* (*A*): No crescent on either side; *Group* (*B*): Crescent on the reverse in the left top of the field; *Group* (*C*): Crescent on the reverse in the right top of the field; *Group* (*D*): Crescent on both obverse and reverse; *Group* (*E*): Crescent on head on the reverse figure. Each group is again divided into sub-varieties according to the position of arms of the figures on the obverses. On some coins the rude standing figure on the obverse has both arms raised, on some the figure has right arm raised and left arm down. On some again the figure has left arm raised and right arm down. On several coins the figure has two arms extended horizontally. The value of such classification is doubtful[64], as the differences may have been due to accidental variations in the mould in cases of crude imitation of the originals.

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[63] PASB, 1895, p. 61 ff.

[64] JBORS, Vol V, p. 77.

The Puri-Kushāṇa coins indeed are crude imitations of Kanishka's coinage with the well-known figure of the king with his right hand extended over fire-altar and holding a staff or spear in his left hand on the obverse. The figure of the male moon-god is present on the reverse as indicated by the crescent. Variations in the dresses represented on the reverse should also be attended to.

If the criterion of dress is followed, two varieties will be noticed. In the first variety the dress of the deity bears some resemblance to that shown on the original Kushāṇa coins. In the second variety, the figure of the deity is found to wear a coat similar to that used by the king as represented on the obverse. Boots also show a difference having two varieties, namely, boots shorter and turned up and those shown at much greater length horizontally[65].

Almost all the coins of the Puri-Kushāṇa type are uninscribed with a few exceptions only on which a legend is found. On the obverse of a unique coin of the Rakha hill mines find, sixty-three coins of Balasore hoard and two coins of Bhañjakia hoard, the word "TANKA"[66] is inscribed. This provides a datum from which the approximate date of the coins concerned can be deduced. According to Rapson[67] the Puri-Kushāṇa coins generally speaking can be assigned to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Smith[68] holds that they may have been issued by the rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century A. D. From an examination of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins bearing the legend "TANKA", R. D. Banerji was of the opinion that they might have been issued sometime before the middle of the seventh or the sixth century A. D. The weight of the Rakha Mines find vary from 39·33 to 87·10 grains, while the coins found in the Puri district vary from 106 to 211 grains[69].

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[65] JBORS, Vol. V, p. 77.

[66] Ibid, p. 83-84.

[67] Indian coins, p. 13.

[68] I. M. C. Vol. I, p. 64-65.

[69] JBORS—V P 77; PASB, 1895, p. 65.

Speaking about the Puri-Kushāṇa coins Hoernle observes: "Whether they were intended to pass as current coins in the ordinary sense may not be quite certain. They may have been meant to be made as temple-offerings by pilgrims, similar to certain imitations of Yaudheya coins found in the Punjab. Possibly they may have been only intended as ornaments". But Puri-Kushāṇa coins could not have been imitated from the Imperial Kushāṇa coins, unless the latter had been still current in Northern India. There would have been no object in copying an obsolete coinage.

Finds of Puri-Kushāṇa coins in association with the copper issues of the Imperial Kushāṇas raise a very important point connected with the question of date. For instance, the find of ten coins of Kanishka and Huvishka along with these Puri-Kushāṇa coins seems to indicate that they were closely related in point of time[70]. It seems that these copper coins were in use in the localities where they have been found. Thus the discovery of such coins at widely separated places such as Ganjam, Barabhum, Puri, Singbhum, Mayurbhanj and Balasore may prove that they were current in Odra, Utkal and Kalinga and issued by rulers of these regions. S. K. Bose[71] has emphasised the local and dynastic value of the Puri-Kushāṇa coins. In the first three centuries of the Christian era the Muruṇḍas dominated a great part of the Ganges Valley with their seat of power at Pataliputra. The finds of the Kushāṇa coins in Chhota Nagpur[72] and Bengal[73] make it probable that Magadha was included in the Kushāṇa empire. S, K. Bose suggests that the "Muruṇḍas held Pataliputra as a satrapy under the Kushāṇas[74]. The rise of the Guptas in the Gangetic Valley contributed towards the decline of the Kushāṇa power in this region. The Kushāṇas gradually receded to the north-west, while, according to him, the Muruṇḍas who had been ruling in the eastern portion of the empire under the Kushāṇas slipped into ancient Atavika territories, covered by modern Ranchi, Manbhum, Singbhum etc. With the establishment of Gupta supremacy in Dabhala and Central Provinces these alien people gradually retraced their steps to the extreme eastern fringes of the Vindhyas. In this region they must have ruled, though locally during the sixth and seventh centuries. The Puri-Kushāṇa coins formed the daily currency of the Muruṇḍas living in the wilderness without contact with gold or silver coins of the Imperial Guptas.[75]

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[70] JNSI, IX, 1947, p. 109.

[71] IC, Vol III, p. 730.

[72] JBORS, Vol I, p. 231-32.

[73] JPASB, Vol. XXVIII, p. 128.

[74] IC, III, p. 729.

S. Levi has pointed out on the strength of the Chinese evidence[76] that the Muruṇḍas ruled in Pataliputra in the centuries just preceding the rise of the Guptas. In the account furnished by the Puranas, there are indications that some rulers of Muruṇḍa stock ruled just before the rise of the Guptas.[77] According to the Jaina tradition, Pataliputra was under the rule of the Muruṇḍa kings. The Brihad Kalpavrithi of the Jainas as quoted in the Abhidhānarājendra II (p. 726) refers to a Muruṇḍa king of Pataliputra.

In view of the evidences carefully compiled from different sources it will appear quite probable that there was a Muruṇḍa power in the Ganges Valley sometime before it came under the Guptas. Such a power may have issued coins in imitation of the Kushāṇa coinage. Even the Guptas, in the beginning, started with a currency which adopted the Kushāṇa coinage as their proto type. It cannot, therefore, follow from numismatic affinities alone that the Muruṇḍas were politically under the Kushāṇas.

According to Bivar, the Muruṇḍas referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription in the phrase "Daivaputra Shāhi

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[75] Ibid, p. 730.

[76] Deux pemples meconnus in Melanges charles des Harlez, pp. 176-85.

[77] IA, 1918, p. 298; Pargiter, D. K. A. p. 46, also see Merutunga's Prabandha-Cintamani, 188, p. 27; Ptolemy, vii, 2, 14 and the Zeda inscription of the 11th year of Kanishka (Kanishka (CII, p. 143.)

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Shāhānu Shāhi Śaka Muruṇḍaiḥ" who owed allegiance to Samudragupta, had been paramount rulers before the rise of the Gupta power. It follows from Bivar's interpretation that the rulers of Muruṇḍas were not feudatories of Kushāṇa overlords. In his opinion they were probably independent sovereigns ruling over the Gangetic Valley during the second and third centuries A.D., with kinship to the old Kushāṇa dynasty, when the Sassanian sway was established over North-west India.[78] The phrase "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānu Shāhi Śaka Muruṇḍaiḥ" is thus to be taken as the ruler of a "Śaka-Kushāṇa empire" using the characteristic titles of the emperors of the Kushāṇa dynasty. According to Bivar, the so-called later Kushāṇa coins are in reality coins of the Muruṇḍas.

Although the question of the identity of the Muruṇḍas with the Kushāṇas may require further investigation, if the Muruṇḍas actually held a considerable territory in the Gangetic valley during a period when the Kushāṇas were still in power, some sort of political relationship may have, reasonably enough, existed between the two. This may explain Kushāṇa affinities of the Puri-Kushāṇa coinage. But it needs be definitely proved that the Muruṇḍas were associated with the different areas where specimens of this coinage have been found, which are also to be so dated as to have belonged to the period of the supposed rule of the Muruṇḍas.

However, all authorities agree that the copper coins of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa type are, like the Gupta coins, copied from the Kushāṇa coins. The inscribed "TANKA" coins are no doubt of later date, probably of the seventh century A.D. But the uninscribed coins among them should be probably not much later than Vāsudeva I, supplying models for their imitation.

In this connection mention may be made of a unique gold coin found in the course of the excavations at Śiśupalgarh in Orissa, which bears on the obverse the Kushāṇa motif: King standing along with the legend read as "Maharaja rajadhasa Dharmadamadharasa" (i.e. Maharaja rajadhiraja Dharmadamadharasya) in Brahmī characters of the third century A.D. and on the reverse a Roman head with Roman legend. Altekar[79] takes this Dharmadamadhara as a Muruṇḍa king and the Roman head, according to him, was copied from the Roman coins of the third century A.D. found in the U. P. and Bihar. The ascription of this coin to the third century A. D. is not only based on palaeographic grounds but also its imitation of Vāsudeva I's obverse coin-type.

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[78] JNSI, XVIII, 1956, p. 38.

R. P. Chanda suggests that the designation Puri-Kushāṇa coins should be changed to "Oriya Kushāṇa" coins[80], while S. K. Bose is against the attribution of a geographical name to them.[81] P. Acharya, calls them *early Orissan coins*[82] as they are found practically in all parts of Orissa, including the old states of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, and also in the districts of Singbhum and Manbhum which contain many relics of Orissan culture.

The designation "Oriya Kushāṇa coins" is however more comprehensive indicating generally not only the localities where they have been found but also the fact of their having been struck in imitation of the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage.

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[79] JNSI, XII, 1950, pp. 1-4.

[80] ASR, 1924-25.

[81] IC, III, p. 730.

[82] JNSI, II, p. 126.

CHAPTER V

REPRESENTATION OF KING ON KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

Up till now scholars have laid emphasis upon the varied reverse devices of the Kushāṇa coinage. But no less interesting seem to be the varied representations of kings on the obverses of the Kushāṇa coins. On the coins of the Indo-Bactrian Greek kings occur individualistic portraits of kings with characteristic head-dresses and distinguishing features of the king's busts. On the Scythian coins the king is commonly found represented as riding a horse. The Indo-Parthian coins import some Arsacid features in the presentation of bearded bust of kings. On some of them, Nike, goddess of victory, is found to be crowning the king. As we approach the representations of kings on the Kushāṇa coins, the variations are too many to be overlooked with characteristic features in each case, though it is true that the representation is not so realistic as on the Indo-Bactrian Greek coins.

The Kushāṇa coinage presents the following features in the representation of kings:—

(a) Different gestures and postures of the king:—He may be found standing to left or to right. Again, he may be found seated looking either to left or to right. In both cases, one or both of his hands may be raised or down.

(b) Different objects accompanying the king:—A fire-altar is found with the king standing. A cushion or throne may be seen with the king seated on it.

(c) In some cases, the king appears on coins as riding an elephant or a car.

(d) Various representations of the busts of the king.

(e) Various head-dresses of king:—diadem, helmet or a round jewelled helmet, a pointed helmet, or a peculiar wide-brimmed hat.

(f) Costumes and decoration on king's body:—tunic, trousers and ornaments.

(g) Arms, weapons or other objects held in king's hand:—spear, sword, club, trident or standard, flower, tree-branch etc.

(h) Semi-divine representation with flames rising from shoulders or clouds round the upper part of the king or nimbus or halo or crescent round the king's head.

Let us now make a close study of these details in respect of the different Kushāṇa kings.

Obverse of Kadphises I's coins:

On the coins of Kujula Kadphises occurs king's head always turned towards right. A peculiar helmet with two re-curved horns is worn on king's head on "Macedonion soldier" type of copper coins. On some coins King's head is found diademed, closely resembling the head of the Roman emperors as represented on Imperial Roman coinage of the early period. This Roman head was palpably imitated from that of Augustus (B.C. 27 A.D. 14) Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) or Claudius (A.D. 41-54).[1] The stratification of Taxila suggests that the coins of Kadphises I are a little later than those of Gondopharnes, so that they may quite well be as late as the third quarter of the first century A.D. Rome and its people Romakas, find their mention in the Mahābhārata. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king 'Pandion'[2], about B.C. 27-20. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan (A.D. 98-117) shortly after A.D. 99. Strabo, Pliny and the author of the Periplus refer to brisk trade between India and the Roman empire in the first century A.D.[3] Pliny deplores the drain of Roman gold for importing Indian luxury goods.[4] Roman influence upon Kadphises I's coins cannot be denied.

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[1] JRAS, 1912, p. 679; Smith, I. M. C. I, p. 66: Camb. Short Hist. p. 74.

[2] JRAS, 1860, p. 309 ff; CHI, Vol. I, p. 597.

[3] JRAS, 1904, p. 591; IA, V, p. 208.

[4] JRAS, 1912, p. 986; 1913, pp. 644-1031.

On some copper coins is found the King seated to right cross-legged on a seat like curule chair with his right hand extended. The king wears conical head-dress with Knob at top. This representation of king is found on the obverse of "Zeus" type of coins[5] as well as on the reverse of the "Augustus' head" type[6] of coins.

Obverse of Kadphises II's Coins:

On gold coins of Wema Kadphises the representations of the king are more varied than those on Kadphises I's coins. The king is found seated on throne. His head is turned towards left. The king wears helmet and diadem, holds either a branch or a flower in his right hand. He has a footstool beneath his feet (B.M.C. Pl. XXV, 6). The peculiar feature found is the device "flames rising from shoulders". The king's dresses have been described by Cunningham in the following way: "He wears a tall helmet, with front peak and fillet, and long tunic with sleeves, and large Tartar boots".

Again, the king is represented as seated facing cross-legged, with his head turned to right. He wears helmet and diadem, holding in his right hand a club. His head is surmounted by a trident. The peculiar feature is the presence of "clouds" in which the king's figure appears (B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 7). An upper part of the king to right is represented as emerging from clouds, wearing hemlet and diadem, and Greek chlamys, with club in his right hand. (N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XV, 3). Again, the upper part of the king to left emerging from clouds, sometimes wears diadem and helmet surmounted by trident, holding in right hand club and, in left hand, elephant-goad. (B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 3) A unique specimen represents the bearded bust of king to right, wearing helmet and diadem, within a square-frame. (B. M. C. XXV, 10). The king is also found in a Biga[7] to right with club on right shoulder. A small driver is seen in front. (N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XV, 7).

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[5] Taxila, Vol. II, p. 818, No. 240.

[6] B. M. C., Pl. XXV, 5.

[7] This is, according to Gobl, is a Kushāṇa modification of the

On some silver and copper coins, the king appears as standing to left, wearing diadem and helmet sacrificing at altar with his right hand, resting his left hand on hip. To left there is a trident-battle-axe combined, to right a club. (B. M. C. XXV, II, 12).

Obverse of Kanishka's coins :

On gold and copper coins the bearded king is represented as standing to left, wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak, sacrificing at altar with his right hand and holding a long spear in his left hand. Flames are found rising from the king's shoulders. (B. M. C. XXVI, I).

On gold coins of Kanishka occurs the above obverse type represented in various designs. The king holds in right hand an elephant-goad over altar and a spear in his left hand, with sword at his waist. (B. M. C. XXVI, 4).

The king is again found standing to left nimbate, holding right hand over altar, and in left spear bound with fillet. To left there is a trident bound with fillet. (B. M. C. XXVI, 18).

The king standing at an altar is represented on some coins with crescent and sceptre. (N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XVI, 6).

On some gold coins appears the bearded bust of king to left, wearing diadem and helmet, left hand raised, holding a spear or a sceptre. The king's body is found emerging from clouds. (B. M. C. XXVI, 16).

On some copper coins is represented the king seated on a wide throne with back and sides, with head turned to left, wearing a peculiar wide-brimmed hat, and voluminous trousers, (P. M. C. I., Kushāṇa coin No. 114).

Roman "Emperor in Quadriga" type issued by Augustus and Tiberius. JNSI, XXII, 1960, p. 81-82.

Obverse of Huvishka's coins:

On the gold coin of Huvishka king is represented variously as shown in the following details:—

(a) Very large head of the king covered with a round jewelled helmet with spreading crest, and the ends of diadem hanging down behind. A large ornamental ear-ring is in the ear, and flames rising from shoulders (N. Chron. XII, 3rd series Pl. XIX, A).

(b) Bust of clean-shaven king to l., on clouds, nimbate. He wears jewelled pointed helmet, diadem and streamers as well as an elaborate tunic and necklace. King carries sceptre in r. hand; club in l. (N. Chron. XII, 3rd Series, Pl. XIX, B).

Occasionally, flames are found arising from king's shoulders. On some coins the sceptre is changed for the *ankuśa* "elephant-goad".

(c) Bust of king to l., with round jewelled helmet, club and elephant-goad in hands. (N. Chron. XII, 3rd Series, Pl. XIX, C).

On some coins flames arise from king's shoulders.

(d) Seated figure of cross-legged king to r., on clouds. He wears the tall helmet with diadem. In l. hand, he holds a standard surmounted by a bird, facing, r. hand in front of breast. (B. M. C. Pl. XXVIII, 10).

(e) Seated figure of king riding elephant to r. He holds elephant-goad in l. hand; spear in r. (N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XXII, 1).

On his copper coins Huvishka is represented with features varying on the lines noted below:—

(f) King riding an elephant with a sceptre in right hand and an elephant-goad in left hand. (B. M. C. XXIX, 2).

(g) King seated on throne with radiated back, right leg raised up and resting on seat, left leg hanging down (B. M. C. XXIV, 5, 6). On some coins the king is armed with a long trident (P. M. C. I. Kushāṇa coin No. 172).

(h) King seated cross-legged on cushions in Indian fashion. The king is found nimbate with body radiate (B. M. C. XXIX, 4).

(i) King facing diademed and radiate, reclining on a low-cushioned couch. (P. M. C. I. Kushāṇa coin No. 173).

(j) King leaning on four-legged throne, with right knee tucked up. (I.M.C.I. Huvishka coin No. 55).

(k) King diademed, to right seated with both legs down, not crossed ; right hand at his side, left hand holding a short sceptre in front of face. (I.M.C. I. Huvishka-coin No. 64).

(l) King in crouching attitude with head to left and both arms raised. (P.M.C. I. Kushāṇa coin No. 206).

(m) King seated to front, but facing to right, nimbate and diademed. (P.M.C. I. Kushāṇa coin No. 203).

(n) Like No. (k), but the king has head to left, right hand extended and left hand grasping spear. (I.M.C. I. Huvishka coin Mo. 75).

(o) King seated holding long spear in right hand, left hand on thigh. (I.M.C. I. Huvishka coin No. 76).

Obverse of Vāsudeva's Coins:

The representation of king on Vāsudeva's gold and copper coins is not so varied as on the coins of Wema Kadphises and Huvishka.

The king is represented as nimbate, standing to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and pointing downwards with his right hand towards a small altar. His dress consists of a long tunic, trousers and Tartar boots. He wears a conical helmet and sword at his side. Behind his head there is a small flower on an up right stalk. (N, Chron, 1892, Pl. XXIV, A).

On some coins a trident is found to the left, and a symbol like the united Buddhist Tri-ratna and Dharma-Chakra on the right. (N, Chron, 1892, XXIV, E)

On other coins along with trident and Buddhist symbol there are groups of dots overhead, between the feet of the king and to the right. (N. Chron, 1892, XXIV, F).

It may be noticed that while on Kadphises I's coins appears either a helmet or a diadem, on the coins of Kadphises II and Kanishka a combination of helmet and diadem is found to occur. While on Huvishka's coins two types of head-dresses are noticed, namely pointed, conical and or round helmet, Vāsudeva's coins show the king wearing only the pointed type of helmet.

The representation of king as sacrificing at an altar is first found on some silver and copper coins of Wema Kadphises. This representation is found widely used on the gold and copper coins of Kanishka. "King at altar" type is conspicuous by its absence in Huvishka's coinage. Buvishka's reign is marked by an inclination towards representating the king in bust form. His copper coins represent the king in various gestures and postures, as already mentioned. In the time of Vāsudeva, "King at altar" device is revived in the coinage. On the coins of Vāsudeva I's successors, Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, on the coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas and of the Kushāṇo-Sassanians, the king is represented as sacrificing at an altar.

While on gold coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas, the king is represented as standing at altar, on their silver and copper coins the king is represented in 'bust' form, with bushy hair on both sides of the face, triple ornaments on head-dress and long ear-rings[8]. Likewise, on all gold coins with a few exceptions, of the Kushāṇo-Sassanians, the full-length figure of the king is found holding trident in left hand and pointing downwards to a small altar with right hand[9], but on their silver and copper coins, the king is found in bust form with characteristic Sassanian head-dress. Vāsudeva's conical helmet has been transformed into lion's head crest of Hormizd, turreted crown of Shapur and ram's horns of Varahran[10]. The Sassanian head-dress influenced those used on the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coins.

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[8] N. Chron. XIII, 3rd series. Pl. XV, 1.

[9] Ibid, XIII, 3.

[10] MASI, No 38, pp. 20-26.

Fire-altar which is found by the side of the king on the Kushāṇa coins, appears again on the reverse of the coins of the Kushāṇo-Sassanians. The sacrifice of the king at altar probably indicates his belief in fire-worship. The altar signifies the holy place where flames of fire are kept burning always by offering of incense in it. The Śrauta sūtras furnish us with detailed information about the sacrificial rites, practised in Brahmanical religion. The Śrauta rites are fourteen in number and are divided principally into two equal groups. The first group comprises seven "Haviḥ" sacrifices and the second group seven Soma sacrifices. The seven 'Haviḥ' sacrifices are:—Agnyādhāna, Agnihotra, Darshapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, Agrāyana, Nirudhapaśubandha, Sautramani. The Soma sacrifices are:—Agnishṭoma, Atyāgnishṭoma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśī, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptorjāma[11]. Among all the rites mentioned above, the first two "Haviḥ" sacrifices present certain features which seems to have a bearing on the altar-device on Kushāṇa coins. The first ceremony is the setting up the sacred fire (Agnyādhāna) and placing it to its proper place. The next rite is Agnihotra, that is, the maintenance of the sacred fire and offering of oblations of milk, sour, gruel etc. into it, both in the morning and in the evening. No priest is required for this. This is of two kinds—'Nitya' or constant oblations and 'Kāmya' or occasional rites.

Samudragupta, the Gupta monarch, striking coins in imitation of the Kushāṇa prototype, "king sacrificing at an altar", may have adopted the device as a token of his firm belief in the Hindu rituals. That the Gupta monarch had belief in the Vedic sacrifices is proved by his "Aśvamedha" type of coins which bear the legend "Aśvamedha-Parākramaḥ", "whose prowess was demonstrated by the performance of the horse-sacrifice".

However, it appears from the king's representation as one sacrificing at altar that the Kushāṇa monarchs had some association with fire-worshippers. Fire-worship was the common characteristic feature of both the Āvestan and Vedic religions. The Kushāṇas came in close contact with India as well as Persia situated on the boders of their empire. On the reverses of the Kushāṇa coins appear a large number of Persian as well as Indian gods and goddesses. It is, however, very difficult to surmise wherefrom actually the Kushāṇas adopted the fire-worship. When they came to rule in India, naturally they became influenced by Indian culture than Persian one. The device "King sacrificing at an altar" was probably introduced by Wema Kadphises, as we have already stated, in imitation of the Parthian coins issued by Gotarzes (A.D. 40-51). But this fact alone cannot warrant the inference that fire-worship must have been adopted by the Kushāṇas from Persia.

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[11] Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 247-49; in the Avesta there is mention of "Haoma" and "Ijashne" sacrifices.

Semi-divine figures of Kings on Kushāṇa Coinage:

The Kushāṇa kings are represented on the obverses of their coins with some marks of divinity which are rarely found on any other foreign or indigenous coinage of the pre-Kushāṇa period. The marks of divinity such as nimbus, flames and clouds are associated with the kings probably to show their glory and power. The coins also bear such imperial titles which are most suitable for those kings represented on them as semi-divine figures.

On the coins of Kujula Kadphises is not found any divine feature associated with the figure of the king, although the imperial titles like "Maharaja mahata rajatiraja" etc. are found on the "Bull and Bactrian camel" type of his coins. Cunningham claims to have read "Devaputra" among other imperial titles on two copper coins of "Bull and camel type". But Allan re-examined those two coins on which Cunningham had read the title but he could not trace legend on them. The 'Devaputra' title never appears on the coins of the Kushāṇas, its reading on a coin of Kujula

Kadphises being an error[12]. The association of the divine character which is emphasised by the title "Devaputra" (Son of Heaven) could not have preceded the period of Wema Kadphises. It was Kadphises II who introduced some signs of divinity in the delineation of the royal portrait[13]. The royal bust rising from the clouds, flames issuing from the king's shoulders, his august head shown in a square frame, all these divine and honorific traits are found on his coins for the first time. The king wearing crested helmet and diadem and long heavy coat, seated to front on low couch with head turned to left, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and having a footstool under his feet, is represented with flames issuing from his shoulders[14]. The king is also found seated facing cross-legged on clouds, holding a club in his right hand[15]. Half-length figure of the king is represented with flames issuing from shoulders. Upper part of the king is found emerging from clouds. Wema Kadphises appears as a semi-divine figure only on his gold coins.

The signs of divinity introduced by Wema Kadphises were later on followed by his successors. On the gold coins of Kanishka, the king stands to left wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, holding a spear in left hand and sacrificing at an altar. Flames rise from his shoulders[16]. The 'king sacrificing at altar' type is not accompanied by signs of divinity on the coins of Kadphises II. However, on some gold coins of Kanishka, bust of the king to left, diademed and wearing helmet, holding spear in left hand, is found emerging from clouds[17]. On the copper coins of Kanishka, is found no sign of divinity with the figure of the king except halo round his head. On the "king sacrificing at altar" type of gold coins, the king is represented with nimbus in some cases. 'Nimbus' and 'Halo' were introduced by Kanishka on his coins. These signs of divinity are naturally found with the figures of the deities represented on the reverse of coins.

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[12] B. C. Law Volume, Pt. II, p. 308.

[13] JNSI, IX, 1947, p. 80.

[14] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 6.

[15] Ibid, XXV, 7.

[16] Ibid, XXVI, 1.

[17] Ibid, XXVI, 16.

Huvishka, like his predecessor, used marks of divinity on the obverse of his gold and copper coins. Busts of the king appear as emerging from clouds[18]. The king seated cross-legged to left, diademed and nimbate, wearing conical helmet and holding ear of corn and spear, is represented with flames rising from his shoulders[19]. The king, like Wema Kadphises, is found seated cross-legged on clouds. On copper coins of Huvishka, the figure of the king is represented either nimbate or radiate[20]. The king to right diademed and nimbate, riding on elephant, holds spear and elephant-goad. The king is also represented as seated on throne with radiated back. On certain gold pieces Huvishka is at once ornamented with nimbus, flames and clouds.

Vāsudeva, the successor of Huvishka, had nimbus used as the only sign of divinity on his gold coins. The king standing to left, diademed and nimbate, dressed in long tunic, trousers and Tartar boots, conical helmet with sword girt on left side, sceptre in left hand and his right hand pointed downwards towards a low altar[21]. This type remained that of the later Kushāṇa kings who continued to use the nimbus sign only.

As already stated, the signs of divinity were supported by the high sounding imperial titles used by the Kushāṇa monarchs on their coins.

Wema Kadphises held titles like "Basileus Basileon Sotar Megas" in Greek and "Maharajasa rajatirajasa sarva-logoiśvarasa Mahiśvarasa" in Kharoshthī. The Greek legend is found on the obverse and the Kharoshthī legend on the reverse. On the coins of his successors, only the Greek legend is found on the obverse. Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva held titles like "Shāonānoshāo", which were continued by the later Kushāṇa kings.

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[18] B. M. C, XXVII, 9, 11, 13.

[19] Ibid, XXVII, 15.

[20] Ibid, XXIX, 2, 5, 6.

[21] Ibid, XXIX, 8, 9, 11.

Wema Kadphises who was the first Kushāṇa monarch to introduce signs of divinity with the figure of the king on the Kushāṇa coinage, did not borrow them from any of his predecessors. Because, in the whole series of coins issued by Indo-Greek kings of Bactria and India, there is not a single head with nimbus or rays. In the vast series of coins of the Seleukides, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (195-164 B. C.) is the only monarch whose money represents the king's head surrounded with rays and accompanied by the divine epithet. But this royal portrait was evidently unknown in Northern India. It was not probable that Wema Kadphises could have borrowed the idea of the flaming aureole[22]. Besides, nimbus or halo round king's head is not found on his coins. He introduced clouds and flames as signs of divinity.

Drouin[23] observes: "on the beautiful gold pieces of Hima Kadphises, the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from clouds, like the gods of Greece who envelop themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apotheosis". So Drouin believes in the Hellenic origin of some signs of divinity like clouds, but their Indian character appears to be no less prominent. So far as clouds are concerned, it may be noted that Indra, the king of heaven, is generally described as residing in the world of clouds and represented as holding a thunderbolt. Flames issuing from shoulders are found with the figure of Śiva as represented on the coins of Wema Kadphises and his successors. Nimbus or halo represents the effulgence of the presiding deities of Sun and Moon. The halo round an Indian god or goddess is often depicted in art symbolising effulgence. This is probably based on an early indigenous conception.

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[22] JNSI, IX, 1947, p. 80.

[23] IA, 1903, p. 427, Trans. from Revue Numismatique, IV mox. Ser. Tome V, 1901, p. 155.

It has been suggested that, if the signs of deification on the coins of the Kushāṇas are to be judged as constituting an iconographical expression of a monarchical principle, its origin should be sought for in Upper Asia[24]. The title "Devaputra" applied to the Kushāṇa monarchs in their inscriptions, though not on coins, is equated with the title "Son of Heaven" used by the Chinese emperors. The title used to be held by the Tartar princes Tien-tzen of the Chinese, Tengrikvatu, Shen yu among the Hiung nu. If F. W. Thomas'[25] suggestion is accepted, the term "Devaputra" should be considered as thoroughly Indian in character. The Pali-Jataka commentary (III, p. 261, I. 12) sometimes identifies the terms "Deva" and "Devaputra". The divine character of kingship is thus emphasised by the use of the latter term. The signs of deification and the high sounding imperial titles found on the coins of the Kushāṇas leave little scope for doubt as to the Kushāṇa belief in the theory of divine origin of kingship which is further shown by placing Kanishka's representation between sun and moon on the drum of the Peshawar reliquary[26]. The figures of the kings are represented as nimbate and radiate like those of deities appearing on the reverse of the Kushāṇa coins. The Kushāṇas may have derived their notions about kingship from Persian, Chinese and Roman sources[27]. The title 'Rājātirāja' or "Shāonānoshāo", 'supreme king of kings', was probably derived from the "Xshāyathiyānam Xshāyathiyā" of the inscriptions of Darius which stood for "Shāhān Shah" of the later period. The Kushāṇa epithet "Devaputra" found in the inscriptions was probably borrowed from the Chinese in ancient times. The Kushāṇas had direct contact with the Chinese in the time of Pan-Chao. Kaniska of the Ara inscription assumed the Roman title "Kaisara" (Caesar). The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the practice of erecting Devakulas or "Royal galleries of portrait-statues". The most famous of these structures was the Devakula of the Pitāmaha (Grandfather) of Huvishka referred to in a Mathura inscription[28]. 'The dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber might have had something to do with the practice of erecting Royal galleries of portrait-statues on the banks of the Jamuna'.

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[24] IA, XXXII, 1903, p. 432.

[25] B. C. Law Volume, Pt. II, p. 308.

[26] Rowland, Art and Architecture of India, p. 261, note 1.

[27] PHAI, p. 518.

In ancient India also ideas about the divine character of kingship took some shape. Writers on the kingly duties (Rājadharma) like Manu represented the king as a great god living in human form (Mahatī devatā hi esha nara rupena tishṭhati—Chapter VII).

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[28] JRAS, 1924, p. 402.

CHAPTER VI

DEITIES ON KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

The most interesting feature of the Kushāṇa coinage is the representation on it of deities belonging to Greek, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Zoroastrian pantheons. Kujula Kadphises had on the reverse of his coins the figures of the Greek gods Herakles and Zeus. On the reverse of Wema Kadphises' coinage appears the figure of Indian god Śiva. Variety in the reverse devices began with Kanishka. The reverses of Kanishka's coins show Śiva belonging to Brahmanical pantheon, Buddha, Greek deities, Helios and Salene, and Zoroastrian deities, Athsho, Ardoksho, Luhrasp, Mao, Mihira, Nana or Nanashao, Orlagno, Pharro, Vada etc. The reverses of Huvishka's coins are more varied than those of Kanishka. New names of deities in addition to those found on Kanishka's coins occur on Huvishka's coins. The Zoroastrian deities like Manaobago, Oaninda, Shaoreoro, Greek deities like Serapis, Uranus, Roman deity Roma and Indian deities Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, Mahāsena make their appearance on Huvishka's coins. Buddha is conspicuous by his absence on Huvishka's coins. The number and variety of the deities are restricted in Vāsudeva's coinage. His coins represent only Indian god Śiva and the Zoroastrian deities Ardoksho and Nana. The successors of Vāsudeva used on their coins the images of Śiva and Ardoksho only. These two devices, come to play a very important part in the numismatic history of Northern and North-western India. They continued to be used in their original or in modified forms on the money of the local dynasties and monarchs for more than half a millennium.

According to Cunningham[1], the deities appearing on the Kushāṇa coins represent the seven planets and the various

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[1] N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, 1892, pp. 44, 98.

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functions assigned to their regents. So he arranged the names of the deities in the same order as the names of week days, that is, Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. He analysed the attributes and special features of each and every deity and compared them with those of the seven planets. He classified the deities into seven groups, each under a particular planet or luminary, with which they resembled most in qualities and functions. For example, under "Sun" are placed the deities like Helios, Mihira, Ashaviksha, Anio etc., under "Moon" are grouped the deities like Salene and Mao, under "Mars" are placed the deities like Hephaistos, Athsho, Mahāsena, Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, Orlagno and Oanindo. Oado is placed with "Mercury". Mazdohane or Ahura Mazda and Pharro are grouped under 'Jupiter'. Under "Venus" stand Ardoksho, Shaoreoro, Nana etc. "Saturn" leads Heracles, Śiva, Serapo, Uranus, and Buddha is a class by himself. The above classification does not reasonably include all the deities represented on coins. Riom (Personified Roma) read by Cunningham as "Ride" cannot be put together with "Venus". Uranus stands for another heavenly body which should not be confounded with the planet "Saturn". Besides, the classification does not furnish details for a correct and complete study of the features of certain gods and goddesses. The case of Śiva, for example, grouped under "Saturn" in the scheme may be taken up as a typical one. The grouping stresses only the fierce and destructive aspects of Śiva, being classified with Saturn who is generally believed to be malevolent. Śiva has two aspects, Rudra and 'Sānta'. As Rudra he destroys and as Śiva (Śānta) he preserves in his peaceful aspect. Probably, the Kushāṇa kings did not invoke the spirit of destruction but prayed for peace and prosperity to stabilise their imperial power rather than divine aid for destructive purposes throughout the period of their reign. Besides, it was more natural for Kanishka, a staunch believer in Buddha's teachings, to invoke the spirit of Śiva rather than of a destructive divine agent. Thus it will appear difficult to accept Cunningham's classification in toto, but there can be no objection to a classification based on different pantheons to which the deities belong, viz. Zoroastrian, Graeco-Roman, Brahmanical, Buddhist etc.

Deities on the Kushāṇa coins represent various elements of Nature like Sun (Mihira), Moon (Mao), Fire (Athsho), Lightning (Luhrasp), Wind (Oado), Water (Uron) etc. in which man is born and dies. The deities also represent the most desired things in man's life, e. g. victory (Oaninda), glory (Pharro) and wealth (Ardoksho). The heroes and warriors celebrated in ancient mythology are also given honourable place e.g. Herakles, Orlagno, Mahāsena, Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha. Death is fearful but inevitable. The spirit of death is personified in the image of Serapis, an Egyptian god. The Kushāṇas were probably very liberal in their religious faith and policy.

From the above discussion it will appear that a systematic and original pantheon seems to have developed by the Kushāṇas through the absorption of gods and goddesses bearing Greek, Persian and Indian names. Perhaps their faith was distributed between different individual deities supposed to be under supreme creator. The evidence of their coins may show that the Kushāṇas were worshippers of nature also offering their oblations through fire. The Kushāṇas, no doubt, believed in a cult of sacrifice at altar. Their fire-worship was probably due to Persian influence, but it is not unlikely that the Indian manner of worshipping through fire also influenced their ideas. The Kushāṇas had an attitude of catholicity towards all religions, picking up their conceptions of God and religion from the faiths and beliefs of different countries with which they came into contact in the long course of their history.

The gods and goddesses represented on the Kushāṇa coins did not only reflect the religious beliefs of the Kushāṇa monarchs, but also those of the peoples whom they subdued, the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Pahlavas whose religious faiths were prevailing in the territories previously under their occupation[2]. A large number of Brahmanical deities and also Buddha appeared on the coins of the Kushāṇas, due to their growing popularity amongst considerable sections of Indian people who had come under their political domination.

Trade-contacts between India and the Western world, which were brisk and vigorous during this period, may have contributed to the intermingling of religious faiths and forms of diverse races, a process which was stimulated by the numismatic tradition built up by the Kushāṇas.

ICONOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE DEITIES ON KUSHAṆĀ COINS:

Greek and Roman deities:

Herakles: On the reverse side of some copper coins of Kujula Kadphises Herakles is presented as one standing to front with club in right hand and lion's skin on left arm. On the reverse of a gold coin and on some copper coins, Herakles is represented as a bearded male figure standing naked, to front, with a club in right hand and in left hand an apple with lion's skin hanging over arm. On a single copper coin of Huvishka, along with other features, viz., club, lion's skin, is found the deity crowning himself with his right hand.

On the silver coins of the Indo-Greek Kings Demetrius[3] and Lysias is found naked Herakles standing to front crowning himself with right hand and carrying club and lion's skin under left arm. The same type is also found on the coins of Maues, Azes, Azilises, Vonones and Spalahores, Vonones and Spalagadames[4].

The traditions about Herakles appear in their national purity down to the time of Herodotus (484-424 B. C.). Although there may be some foreign ingredients, yet the whole character of the most celebrated hero of antiquity, his armour, his exploits, and the scenes of his action, are all essentially Greek. While in the earlier Greek legends Herakles is a purely human hero, as the conqueror of man and cities, he afterwards appears as the subduer of monstrous animals, and is connected in various ways with astronomical phenomena. According to Homer, Herakles was the son of Zeus[5].

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[2] CCAWK, p. xii.

[3] CHI, Vol I, Pl. III, 3.

[4] B. M. C., p. 69-99.

The representation of Herakles on Kadphises I's coins was made just in imitation of his predecessors, the Greeks and the Parthians. The use of this device consequently indicates his conquests in the north-west of India.

Zeus: On some copper coins of the Kushāṇas found in Taxila[6] Zeus is represented as standing to right, with right hand advanced. Standing Zeus is also represented on the coins of Heliocles, Azes, Vonones and Spalahores, Vonones and Spalagadames, Spalirises, Spalirises and Aspavarman, Gondopharnes and Sasas, Gondopharnes and Abdagases: On the coins of Heliocles Zeus is represented as standing, facing, holding thunderbolt in right hand and in left hand long sceptre which rests on ground. On the coins of Eucratides bearing the legend "Kavisiye nagara-devatā" the god Zeus is shown seated to left on throne, holding wreath in the right hand and palm-branch in the left, the forepart of an elephant, rarely the whole animal, appears on the right and a conical object (probably a hill) in the left field. The same device appears on the reverse of several hemidrachms of Antialkidas. However, this Zeus type probably shows Kadphises I's supremacy over Kapisa-Gandhāra region where Zeus was the presiding deity.

According to Homer, Zeus, the head of the Greek pantheon, was supposed to dwell on the summit of mount Olympus, where he disposed of the affairs both of the gods and of men. He was probably originally a sky-god, symbolizing the bright clear expanse of the heavens, like many other sky gods, subsequently anthropomorphized. As a sky-god he wields the thunder and lightning, conquers the Titans, and overcomes Gaea, probably the original Earth-mother just as in Babylonian myth Merodach conquered Tiawath. He had several spouses, the chief of whom was Hera. It has been pointed out that he may well have begun as a kindly supreme being, and his mythic character may have been ultimately swamped, by the accumulation around his name of myths concerning the older deities. According to Max Muller, the name Dyaus-Pitar in Sanskrit was equivalent to Zeus Pater in Greek, Jupiter in Latin and Tyr in old Teutonic[7]. In the Greek god Zeus we find the representation of Indian Indra, the Devarāja (the king of gods)[8].

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[5] Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman mythology, Vol. II, p. 393.

[6] Taxila, Vol. II, p. 816.

Helios: The Sun-god of this Greek name is found on the reverses of the gold and copper coins of Kanishka. The figure of the deity is a rayed halo round the head, stands in long tunic, with the right hand extended as if pointing to some object, and the left hand resting on the hip.

The figure of Helios riding on a four-horsed chariot appears as the reverse device on the coins of the Bactrian Greek king Plato, probably a king of the line of Eucratides. This portraiture of Helios resembles the figure of Indian Sun-god driving in a chariot drawn by four horses, as carved on one of the railing pillars at Bodh Gaya. But the figure of the Sun-god depicted on the obverse side of a bronze coin of Philoxenus seems to have served as the prototype of the figure of Helios or Mihira on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka[9]. The Sun-god represented on the coins of Philoxenus may be described thus: Sun-god, facing, radiate, clad in chiton, himation and boots, holds in left hand long sceptre and right hand extended[10].

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[7] Lewis Spence, An Introduction to Mythology, pp. 48, 283; see also Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 55.

[8] Banerjea, Dev. Hind, Icon. p. 149.

[9] Ibid, p. 140.

[10] B. M. C., Pl. XIII, 9.

Homer describes Helios as giving light both to gods and men. He rises in the east from the ocean, rises up into heaven, where he reaches the highest point at noon-time, and there he descends, arriving in the evening in the darkness of the west. The horses and chariot with which Helios makes his daily sojourn are not mentioned in the Iliad and the Odyssey, but are described minutely by the later poets. Helios is originally quite distinct from Apollo. No Greek poet ever made Apollo ride in the chariot of Helios through the heavens, and among the Romans this idea was developed only after the time of Virgil (70-19 B. C.). The representation of Apollo with rays around his head, to characterise him as identical with the Sun, belongs to time of the Roman emperors[11].

Salene: The figure of the moon-god is represented exactly in the same attitude as that of the Sun-god. But instead of a rayed halo, it has a crescent behind the head. The god is represented on the gold coins of Kanishka as diademed, clad in chiton and himation with crescent behind shoulders. His right hand is advanced and left hand holds long sceptre bound with fillet. A sword is girt round his waist.

Salene was represented on the pedestal of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, riding on a horse or a mule. In later times Salene was identified with Artemis, and the worship of the two became amalgamated. In works of art, however, the two divinities are usually distinguished, the face of Salene being more full and round, her figure less tall, and always clothed in long robe; her veil forms an arch above head, and above it there is a crescent. In Greek mythology, Salene is called a daughter of Hyperion and Thea and accordingly a sister of Helios. In Homeric hymns, Salene is described as a beautiful goddess and Aeschylus calls her the eye of night. She rode, like her brother Helios, across the heavens in a chariot drawn by two white horses, cows or mules[12].

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[11] Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology, Vol. II, p. 374.

[12] Ibid, p. 763.

Salene, though represented as a goddess in mythology, is shown on coins as a male-god[13].

Serapis: On the reverse of the gold coins of Huvishka the god Serapis is found seated on throne, with modius on head, sceptre in left hand, and a noose in right hand. On some coins the deity is presented as standing to left, with short sceptre in left hand, right hand extended.

Serapis was originally an Egyptian divinity whose worship was introduced into Greece in the time of Ptolemis[14]. It is said that Serapis presided over the "invisible world"[15]. It is added that a statue of Serapis bore on its head a measuring vessel, and in the hand a cubit, or measuring rod for fathoming the depth of the Nile[16]. On consideration of his attributes Serapis is equated with the Greek god Pluto who was the supreme sovereign of the infernal regions. Pluto, brother of Zeus and Poseidon, and spouse of Persephane ruled with merciless severity, striking terror to the hearts of his subjects. He possessed a helmet which rendered him invisible, and he was feared by the gods as well as the dead. He was assisted by a tribunal of Judges, the chief being Æcas, son of Zeus and Ægina, Minos and Rhadomanthus[17].

"Noose" in the hand of Serapis is the Indian "pāśa" which is held always by Yama or Dharmarāja. That is why Yama is known as "pāśī" or "pāśa-pāṇi" i. e. "noose in hand". Indian Yama clearly corresponds to the Greek god Pluto, King of Hades.

Uranus: On reverses of Huvishka's gold coins the deity is represented as a male figure to left, bearded and nimbate, with modius on head, sceptre in left hand, and right hand extended. Uranus may be identified with the Greek god

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[13] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 1.

[14] Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology, Vol. III, P. 786.

[15] Prichard, Egyptian Mythology, p. 93.

[16] Ibid, p. 91.

[17] Spence, An Introduction to Mythology, p. 206.

Uranus. Uranus, the most ancient of the gods, is described in mythology as the husband of Tellus or Terra, and father of Saturn. He was called Cœlus by the Romans.

Most probably he stands for the Indian god Varuṇa, the god of water. Because, the modius or the water-vessel held on the head of the deity is his characteristic feature.

In the Rigvedic hymns, Varuṇa has been described as the god of rain who makes the rivers flow into the sea. He upholds the moral and physical order and at his bidding the sun, the moon, the stars and the air move in their respective paths[18]. The word "Varuṇa" seems to have originally meant the "encompassing sky".

Hephaistos: On some gold coins of Kanishka the figure of Hephaistos is represented. The deity is shown as standing bearded figure, with probably tongs, left hand on hip, right hand holding wreath. Gardner has described the "tongs" as a "sword". But Hephaistos was the Greek god of fire and it is natural for him to have "tongs" by his side.

According to the Homeric accounts, Hephaistos was the son of Zeus and Hera. He was lame and ugly dwarf. His mother was so displeased with his appearance that she wished to cast him out of Olympus. He took her part in a quarrel with Zeus, however, and thereupon the king of Heaven cast him from the heights to the Island of Lemnos, where he fell maimed and wounded. He was the great artificer of the gods, an incomparable worker in metal. He raised the shining palaces of Olympus, forged the marvellous armour of Achilles, and made the necklace of Harmonia. In his Latin shape of Vulcan, Hephaistos is pre-eminently a god of fire, the conception becoming associated with volcanic districts, especially with Mount Etna in Sicily, where, with the Cyclopes for his assistants, he laboured in the bowels of the volcano.[19]

In the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rigveda the name of Viśvakarmā is mentioned. There he is described as the regulator of the universe. In fact the creative power of the great god is described in the guise of this allegorical name. In the Pauranic age he became the architect of gods.

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[18] Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 75.

[19] Spence, Introduction to Mythology, p. 131.

Riom: On Huvishka's gold coins is represented the figure of Roma, standing to right, wearing helmet and long chiton, holding spear and shield. Cunningham's reading is "Ride", which, according to him, stands for "Riddhi", the Indian goddess of fortune, wife of Kuvera, the god of wealth.[20] F.W. Thomas reads "Rhea". But Gardner's reading of 'Riom' is now accepted by most of the scholars. The figure of Riom shows an impersonation of the great city of Rome, such impersonation being used on the coins of the Greeks, Śakas and Parthians.

The goddess Roma was presented in the temples of Rome as clad in long robe, and with a helmet, in a sitting posture, strongly resembling the figure of Greek Athene. 'She was in reality the genius of the city of Rome, and was worshipped as such from early times. But it seems that previous to the time of Augustus, there was no temple dedicated to her in the city. Afterwards its number increased in all parts of the empire.[21]

Representation of city goddesses is not unknown on the coins of the Greeks and the Scythians. The city of Pushkalāvatī is represented on the coins of Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Maues, Azes, Azilises, Zeionises etc. The city of Nicaea is represented on the coins of Eucratides and Menander. Pallas Athene, just like Riom mentioned above, is represented on Demetrius' coins as the goddess facing with spear and shield.

Persian Deities

Mihira: On copper coins of Kanishka and on gold coins of Huvishka the figure of Sun-god Mihira is represented with slightly differing features. The figure of Mihira is identical with that of Greek god Helios as represented on the Kushāṇa coins. The figure of Sun-god is accompanied by legends like MIIPO, MIOPO, MIYPO, but never Mithra.

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[20] N. Chron. vol. 12, 3rd series, p. 147.

[21] Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology, Vol. 3, p. 654.

On the coins of Kanishka occurs the following representations of Mihira:—

(A) The figure of Sun-god, radiate, standing in long tunic, left hand on hip and right hand extending, with forefinger pointing before him.

(B) Mihira, radiate, standing, left hand on hip and right hand extending before him, but with a sword.

On the coins of Huvishka are found the following representations.

(C) Mihira as a radiate figure standing, with callipers in right hand and sword by his side. The callipers probably indicate that the Sun was considered as the "measurer of time."[22]

(D) Mihira is shown as a radiate standing figure with sceptre in right hand and left hand on hip.

(E) Mihira as a radiate standing figure with sceptre in left hand, right hand extended, sword by his side.

(F) Mihira as a radiate standing figure with sceptre in right hand and left hand resting on sword by side.

(G) Mihira as a radiate standing figure with sceptre in right hand and wreath in left hand.

In the Mihira Yasht of the Avesta is bestowed on, and invocation offered to, the angel presiding over and directing the course of the Sun.[23] Mihira is the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra.

Ardaviksha: On some gold coins of Huvishka, Sun-god is represented along with the legend in Greek "ARDEIXSHO." The figure of the god is radiate standing to left, with sword, left hand on hip and right hand extended. The name may be compared with the Avestic name "Asha-Vahista" which becomes "Ardavahishta" in later Zoroastrian literature (Pahlavi'rd: Zend'sh').[24]

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[22] N. Chron. Vol. XII, 3rd series, p. 129.

[23] Haug, Sacred Writings and Religions of the Parsis, p. 202.

In the Arda Vahisht Yasht,[25] Ahuramazda requests Zarathustra to protect and promote the Ashavahishta (Ardavahishta), "the best righteousness by praising, invoking, inviting to sacrificial meals, worshipping, singing etc. in order to keep up the splendour of light of the luminaries, which is indispensable for the growth of good creation." The "Ardavahishta" may be compared with "Savitri" of the Rigveda who quickens the activity of the Sun. Cunningham looks upon "Ardaviksha" as an impersonation of "Sun-light."[26]

On some gold coins of Huvishka Sun god is represented with the legend O|ΛIA (ONIA)[27] and Omber (?) as a radiate standing figure with right hand advanced and left hand resting on sword.

Mao: Some gold and copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka present the Persian Moon-god Mao in various ways. It is always accompanied by the legend "Mao".

On the coins of Kanishka Mao is represented in the following ways:—

(A) A male deity diademed in chiton and himation with crescent behind shoulders, right hand advanced, left holding a sceptre bound with fillet, and sword girt round waist.

On the coins of Huvishka Mao is represented in the following ways:—

(A) A male deity with crescent behind shoulders, holds a sceptre in left hand and callipers in right hand. Callipers, possibly present the moon-god as a "measurer of time".

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[24] IA, XVII, 1888, pp. 89-98.

[25] Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 200.

[26] N. Chron. XII, 3rd Series, p. 130.

[27] B. M. C. XXVIII, 6; N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XIX, 12.

(B) A male-deity with crescent behind shoulders holds sword in left hand and wreath in right hand.

(C) A male deity with crescent behind shoulders and sword in left hand, holds sceptre and wreath in right hand.

(D) A female-deity standing to left, mimbate, holds, in both hands cornucopiae.

(E) A male deity (Moon-god) to right, diademed with crescent behind shoulders, sceptre bound with fillet in right hand elephant-goad in left hand. This deity is accompanied by another male-deity (Sun-god), radiate, right hand advanced and left hand holding a sceptre bound with fillet. The two names of the gods Mao and MIIPO, are written side by side. This is an unique coin of Huvishka.

Mao is the nominative of the Zend form of 'mās'. The word is likewise in Sanskrit. It denotes the moon as a "measurer of time". The callipers shown in hands of the god on coins is a point of that indication. The root is "mā" (to measure) but the Sanskrit nominative is "mās".[28] It may be noted here that the Roman poet Catullus also describes the "goddess measuring the months".

In the Māh yasht[29] of the Avestā, the moon is invoked by the epithet "gao chitra" i.e. cow-faced. It has been said "All the immortal benefactors (archangels) rise and spread the moon light over the surface of the earth created by Ahura-Mazda, then the light of the moon shined through the tops of the golden coloured trees ; and gold like it rises from the earth (i.e. it is reflected by her)".

One should not lose sight of the close resemblance that occurs between the figure of Greek god "Salene" and that of "Mao".

Another thing to be noted is that on a particular coin of Huvishka, Mao has been depicted as a female-deity (E-representation) with cornucopiae, showing an affinity to Ardoksho, the goddess of prosperity. Actually, primitive ideas regarded the moon as the cause of vegetable growth equally with the Sun. The work which was accomplished by the sun throughout the day, was believed to be continued by the moon at night. The moon-goddess thus came to be considered as the deity of harvest.[30]

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[28] IA, 1886, pp. 89-98.

[29] Haug, Sacred Writing of the Parsis, p. 200.

All primitive time-reckoning was on a lunar basis. Among the savages time-reckoning assumed the importance of a science. This made the presiding deity of the moon enjoy certain reputation for wisdom.[31]

Manaobago: On gold coins of Kanishka and Huvishka the moon-god again appears with the legend MANAOBAΓO.

On Kanishka's coins Manaobago is presented in the following way:—

(A) Four-armed male deity enthroned to front; crescent behind shoulders; sceptre and callipers in two hands, and two indistinct objects in other two hands, feet on footstool.

On Huvishka's coins Manaobago is represented in the following ways:—

Four-armed male-deity enthroned, crescent behind shoulders, sceptre, wreath and possibly fire[32] in three hands, fourth hand resting on hip, feet resting on footstool.

'Manao' comes from the root 'mān' which means 'measure'. 'Baga' probably stands for 'Bhaga' which means splendour, beauty, glory, omnipotence etc, possessed by god. So 'Manaobago' probably means "god of measure". F. W. Thomas interprets 'Maonh-Bago' as a particular form of the Iranian moon-deity. Hoffmann recognizes the deity as Bahman (Mano-vohu). Vohu-mano is regarded as the vital faculty of all living beings. Originally his name stood for the good principle, as emanating from Ahura Mazda, who is, therefore, called the father of Vahu-mano (Pahlavi yasna XXXI. 8). He pervades the whole living good creation, and all the good thoughts, words and deeds of men are wrought by him.[33]

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[30] Spence, Introduction of Mythology, p. 126.

[31] Ibid, p. 127.

[32] N. Chron. XII 3rd series, p. 131. Cunningham treats it as an indistinct object in the shape of a circle surrounded by twelve dots, which by their number, may be supposed to typify the twelve months of the year, as well as twelve signs of the Zodiac.

In some of the latest hymns of the Rig-Veda•Soma begins to be somewhat obscurely identified with the moon. In the Atharva Veda Soma several times means the moon and in the Yajur Veda Soma is spoken of as having the lunar mansions for his wives. The identification is common place in the Brāhmaṇas. In one of the Upanishads, the statement occurs that the moon is King Soma, the food of the gods, and is drunk up by them. In post-Vedic literature Soma is a regular name of the moon, which is regarded as being consumed by the gods, and consequently waning till it is filled up again by the sun.[34] Sūrya, Chandra, Vāyu, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, and Kuvera, the eight great devas of the early epic literature, are grouped as the guardian of eight quarters or "Lokapālas". Soma has been regarded as the guardian of the Northern direction in Gobhila Grihyasutra.

It should be noted in this connection that Indian moon god Soma has usually four arms and a lunar crescent behind shoulders. His resemblance with the figure of Manaobago is unmistakable which may be due to a common tradition.

Athsho: On Kanishka's gold coins and on Huvishka's gold and copper coins, Athsho, fire-god, is represented.

On Kanishka's coins Athsho is represented thus:—

(A) Bearded deity, to left, diademed, clad in chiton and himation, holds in right hand wreath, and in left hand which rests on hip, tongs.

On Huvishka's coins Athsho is shown thus :—

(B) Male-deity standing to right, with flames rising from shoulders, and carrying smith's hammer in right hand and tongs in left hand.

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33 Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 306.

34 Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 100.

This figure may be taken to represent the element of fire.

This type has been accompanied almost always by the legend AOPO. On some coins the legend is found "ΛOH." This "Loe" has been connected with Greek 'Luke' and Sanskrit 'Luk', both signifying "light".[35] 'Loe' again might be connected with the word 'Lohita' which signifies the colour of fire, or with the 'Loha' i. e, iron, manufactured into goods through fire.

Athsho is derived from Zend "athr-" the weak form of stem "atar", 'fire', and therefore, identical with the Pahlavi "ātro" and the Persian 'adhar', i.e. fire. The latter form has survived beside the more common 'atash' (A descendant of the ancient nominative 'atars') chiefly as the name of the Zoroastrian month.[36] 'Ātar' is the son of Ahura Mazda. He plays a very important part in Zoroastrian cult. He is frequently addressed in the hymns and prayers of the Avestic rituals. In a passage of the Vendidad (XIX 7). the tongs are mentioned as required for the proper care of Ormazd's fire. These tongs are found held by Athsho appearing on the Kushāṇa coins.

Athsho bears striking resemblance to the Greek god Hephaestus.

Pharro: The Iranian god Pharro appears on some gold coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The deity is represented on Kanishka's coins in the following way:—

(A) Male-figure to right, diademed, nimbate, clad in chiton and himation, holds spear in left hand, and fire in right hand.

The same deity is represented on Huvishka's coins in the following ways[37]:—

(B) Male-deity to left, head winged, clad in coat, holds in right hand fire, left hand grasps sword at waist.

(C) Similar to (B) but, flames rising from shoulders.

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[35] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, p. 133.

[36] Stein, IA, XVII, 1888, p. 92.

[37] B. M. C. Pl XXVIII, 25, 26, 29, 31 etc.

(D) Similar to (B) but right hand advanced, in left long sceptre and sword at waist.

(E) Similar to (B) but flames rising from shoulders, holds in extended right hand fire, in left hand sceptre.

(F) Similar to (B) but holds purse and caduceus.

(G) Similar to (B) but holds spear and elephant-goad.

(H) Similar to (B) but holds in right hand wreath and in left hand sceptre.

(I) Similar to (B) but right hand rests on hip and left hand holds a sceptre.

(J) Similar to (B) but nimbate, standing on fire, right hand extended and in left hand caduceus of Greek god Hermes.

Pharro is derived from the Persian "farr". "Farr" probably signifies fire and the deity of this name is a fire-god. While Gardner thinks that the god appears on some coins holding fire in his right hand (B type), Cunningham[38] takes it to be a dish with some sprouts of corn. Cunningham thinks that Pharro should be identified with the Indian rain-god "Parjanya" who is the begetter of corn. On some coins the god has a purse, according to Gardner. But Cunningham suggests that it is a bag full of corn-seeds. He possessed a gem on which is engraved Pharro by the side of Ardoksho. There the former deity wears the winged head-dress with the dish of sprouting corns, while the latter carries a cornucopiae.[39]

Cunningham lays stress upon the object held by the right hand of the deity. But the other attributes of the deity have not received the attention which they deserve, for example, flames rising from shoulders, fire on which the deity stands or sceptre, caduceus, elephant-goad etc.

Prof. Hoffmann identifies Pharro with the "mighty Kingly glory", the 'Kavaem quareno' of the Avesta.[40] The name of the deity corresponds to Persian 'farr', derived from 'farna' which is the phonetic equivalent of Zend "quareno". The 'Kingly glory' which is a Zoroastrian personification of lawful rule over Iran, is symbolised by the sceptre in the hand of Pharro on some coins of Huvishka.

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[38] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, p. 142-43.

[39] Ibid, pl. XXI, 15.

[40] IA, XVII, 1888, p. 92

In the Zamyād Yasht,[41] occurs the invocation of the "mightly glory" (quareno=farna<Persian farr=Pharro) which was peculiar to the 'Kavis', the chiefs of the Iranian community in ancient times mostly before Zoroaster. Ahura Mazda produced it at the time of cresting all that is good, bright, shining.

It attached itself to one of the great heroes of antiquity, such as Thraetaona, Yima etc. and enabled to achieve great feats. This heavenly glory is essential for causing the dead to rise at the end of the world. The importance of the "glory" is indicated from the numerous legends which have gathered round the "Farri-i-Kayan" in later Persian tradition.

Orlagno : On gold coins of Kanishka the deity Orlagno makes his appearance. The deity is represented thus:—

Male-figure, wearing diadem, helmet surmounted by bird with expanded wings, and clad like the king, holds in right hand spear, in left hand, sword. The figure is accompanied by the legend OPΛAΓNO.

Orlagno in the war-dress of a Scythian, was first recognised, by Benfey as Verethraghna, the Iranian war-god. The form 'Orlagno' presents us with a considerably older form of the name, Pahlavi, Varahram, which in modern Persian, is still further reduced to Bahram.[42]

The Bahram yasht[43] is devoted to the angel Bahram. The original form of this name is Verethraghna, which means "Killer of enemies", that is, conqueror, and is to be identified with India's name "Vṛitrahā" to be found in the Vedas. He is the giver of victory and appears personally before his devotee in such different forms as he may personally choose to assume.

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[41] Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 216.

[42] IA, XVII, 1888, p. 92.

[43] Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 213-14.

In the bird which appears sitting on the god's helmet we recognize the bird Vārañjan (Vāraghna) of the Avestā, which was evidently sacred to Verethraghna. The eagle-like appearance of the bird on our coins seems to point to a closer relationship between the bird 'Varenjana' and the 'Simugarh' (i. e. eagle-bird) of the Shāhnāmāh legend.

F. W. Thomas supposed Orlagno to be Agni, possibly on phonetic grounds. But the above account will show the untenability of Thomas' suggestion. Besides, the Vishṇudharmottara[44] gives an elaborate and characteristic description with smoke-standard drawn by four parrots and driven by wind, having his consort "Svāhā" on his left lap, holding flames, trident and rosary in his hands. Again, the Paharpur basement figure of Agni of an earlier date shows the two-armed god standing, holding a rosary and a water-vessel in his two hands, flames issue forth from his sides, but his mount is not shown.[45] So, iconographically, there is no resemblance between Indian Agni and Orlagno of the Kushāṇa coins. Agni has got a bit of similarity with Pharro as represented on coins.

Oaninda: On some gold coins of Huvishka goddess Oaninda is represented thus: Victory (Oaninda), winged to left, holding out wreath in right hand and carrying trophy-stand.

This figure is a close copy of Nike, the Greek goddess of victory appearing on the coins of Indo-Greek kings Eucratides, Menander, Strabo I, on the coins of the Parthian kings, Vonones, Orthagnes, Gondopharnes, Abdagases, Pacores, Sanabares etc.

A. Stein has identified the goddess of victory with the female genius 'Vanainti uparatāt', "Victorious superiority" who is always associated with Verethraghna in the invocation in the Avestā (Yasna i. 6. Vispered i. 6. Yasht, XIV).[46]

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[44] Book III, Chapter 56, Verses 1-10.

[45] K. N. Dikshit, Paharpur, p. 48, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5.

The Vanant Yasht[47] is a very short prayer addressed to the star Vanaint, by which the Dasturs understand the Milky way. Hoffmann's suggestion that Vanaint stands for the star of victory seems to be reasonable.

Thomas thinks that the legend OANINDA refers to Anandes, a Persian deity mentioned by Strabo. But he was a male-deity, and of his character nothing is known.

Oado: On some copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka the "Oado" is represented as a male bearded figure, running to left with his hair loose,[48] holding in both hands ends of his garments which floats about him.

The old Persian name for the "wind" was 'bād' Sanskrit 'Vāt' or, as rendered on the coins, Greek OADO: Vāda. The element of wind is appropriately represented as a running figure with distended robes.

The Rām Yasht[49] of the Āvestā is devoted to the angel Rām, who is, however, never mentioned in it by this name, but "Vayushu paro Kairy", the wind whose business is above (in the sky). He was worshipped by Ahura Mazda. In the last section of the Yasht, his manifold names are explained. Vayush is there traced to the root 'vi', "to go", "penetrate", and to 'Va', "both", and explained by "I go to both creatures, those of the beneficent, and those of the malevolent spirit".

The name OADA seems to be connected with that of the Vedic god, Vāyu. Vāyu is invoked in three hymns of the Rigveda.[50] His movement is very fast. He rides on a shining car drawn by two ruddy steeds. He is a constant companion of Indra. It is he who makes all creatures live.

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[46] IA, XVII, 1888, p. 92-93.

[47] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 213-14.

[48] Cunningham informs us that the head is rayed.

[49] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 214-15.

[50] Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 91.

The Vishṇudharmottara[51] describes the wind-god, Vāyu, as two-armed, his two hands holding the two ends of the scarf worn by him, his garment being inflated by wind, his mouth being open and his hair dishevelled. This description follows to a great extent the representation of "Oada" on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka.

Luhrasp: On some gold coins of Kanishka and Huvishka the Persian god "Luhrasp" appears in the following way: Bearded deity to right, diademed, clad in sleeved tunic, holds in right hand wreath, beside him horse to right, saddled, trotting.

Luhrasp has been identified with the Zend word "Aurvataspa" which literally means "swift-horsed".[52] It is a common epithet of both the sun and the god Apām-napāt, the "son of the waters", whose original character is an old Aryan personification of the fire-born in the clouds, that is, Lightning.

The deity of rare occurrence in the Rig Veda and also supposed to be dating from the Indo-Iranian period, is 'Apāmnapāt',[53] the "Son of waters". He is shown as clothed in lightning and shining without fuel in the waters. There can be little doubt that he represents fire as produced from the rain-clouds in the form of lightning.

Shaoshoro: On Huvishka's gold coins, the god Shaoshoro is represented in the following manner: Male-figure to right, fully armed, with helmet, spear and sword.

Shaoshoro has been identified by A. Stein with the third 'Amesha speñta' or archangel of the Zoroastrian creed, whose Avestic name "Kshathra Vairya", "Perfect rule" becomes by ordinary phonetic changes "Shahrevar" in Pahlavi.[54]

Martin Haug[55] suggests that "Kshathra-vairya" (Shah-

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[51] Chapter 58, Verses 1-6; Banerjea, Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 527.

[52] Stein, IA, XVII, 1888, p. 91.

[53] Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 88.

[54] IA., 1888, p. 91.

[55] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 306.

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river) presides over metals and is the giver of wealth. His name simply means "possession, wealth". Afterwards it was applied to metal and money. Wealth is considered as a gift from Ahura Mazda.

Cunningham[56] holds that 'Shahrewar' or 'Kshathra-vairya', the genius of metals and the giver of wealth is identical with the Indian Airavira or Kuvera.

Gardner thinks that 'Shāo' meaning king may be detached from the legend 'Shaoshoro'. The remainder 'Shoro' seems to him to be a mere twisting of the Greek Ares, and that the intention is to portray the Greek war-god.[57]

If we consider the features of the god as represented on coins, accompanied with spear, shield etc., his identification of war-god (Ares) may be probable. But the explanation of the name of the god given by Gardner is not convincing as the name Shaoshoro appears to be identical with the Persian god of that name, who like our Indian god Kuvera, is the presiding deity of metal and wealth.

Ahuramazda: On some gold coins of Kanishka[58] Ahuramazda is represented thus: Male-figure riding a horse with two heads. On two coins of Huvishka[59], Ahuramazda is represented in the following way:—A bearded male figure, nimbate, standing to left, holds upright sceptre in left hand and circular wreath in outstretched right hand. While on the coins of Kanishka the legend in Greek is read as "Mazdohano' on Huvishka's coins the legend is: "Woromozdo,"

Mazdohano is an Āvestā name, plural form of Mazdao. Mazdao is Ahura Mazda who is also known as Ormazd, Mazdao is the author of the Mazdean religion, The two primeval principles of good and evil were united in Ahura Mazda himself. The beneficent spirit is called 'Speñta Mainyus' and the hurtful spirit 'Augro-Mainyus'.[60]

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[56] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, p. 147.

[57] cf. Introduction, B. M. C.

[58] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XVII, 5.

[59] JNSI, XIV, 1952, p. 71.

[60] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 301.

In the Yasna[61] these two spirits are called the two creators, but they were not separate. Cunningham[62] holds that the two-headed horse, which is ridden by Mazdohano, may be intended to typify the two spirits of good and evil, inherent in one supreme creator, Ormazd. Ahura Mazda of the Āvestā was the counterpart of the Rigvedic Varuṇa. In the Āvestā Ahura Mazda is pre-eminently an ethical figure which fills the heaven with light and observes all things with his shining eye. The iconographic features of Ahura Mazda of Huvishka's coin resemble to some extent those of the figure of "OAXPO" depicted in another unique coin of Huvishka[63].

Zero (?): On the gold coins of Huvishka the goddess is represented thus: Female-figure standing to right, clad in long chiton and himation, holding in left hand bow and drawing arrow from quiver with right hand.

Scholars are not unanimons about the reading of the legend. Thomas and Cunningham read it as ZEPO. Zero may be identified with Zahr, the Persian name for Venus, or rather Greek Artemis, as the goddess is armed with bow and quiver.[64]

Von Sallet has suggested the reading of the legend as MEIPO, for, in other instance, it is found that inappropriate legends sometimes accompany some types. But this is a mere conjecture.

Stein thinks that the legend is intended for TEIPO.[65] He identifies the deity with the Persian deity Tishtrya, the star Sirius, whose later name, Tir, in Pahlavi and Persian, actually means "arrow".

The Tir Yasht[66] is devoted to the praise of the star 'Tishtraya': Mercury. His most significant epithet is 'afshchithra', 'water-faced', (i. e, of one and the same nature with water), because he brings the waters from the celestial ocean down on the earth to fertilise the soil. He discharges his duty with utmost quickness, being as swift as the river Tigris, which has the swiftness of an arrow, and is the swiftest of all Aryan rivers, when it falls from the Kshaotha mountain down to the Qanvat mountain.

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[61] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 189.

[62] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, p. 139.

[63] Ibid, p. 121-122.

[64] Ibid, p. 153.

[65] IA, 1888, p. 93.

[66] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 200.

This type is evidently a mere reproduction of the Greek Artemis, as has been pointed out above, because Stein thinks that this was a ready type at hand for an Indo-Scythian die-cutter wishing to exhibit the characteristic emblems of the deity, bow and quiver.[67]

The figure of Artemis is represented on other coins with the name "Nana". So the corrupt legend (ZEPO) in this case, is most probably intended for 'Zahr', the Persian name for Artemis. It seems that Stein has gone too far to show that Artemis type has been used by the die-cutters to represent the characteristic features of the god Tishtrya.

Nana: This name is found on Kushāṇa gold and copper coins in different forms, viz. NANA, NANAIA, NANAPAO, NANO etc. The deity with this name is presented on coins with various attributes.

On the coins of Kanishka the deity is represented as follows:—

(A) Female deity to right, nimbate and diademed, holds in right hand sceptre ending in forepart of horse.

(B) Similar, but head surmounted by crescent and with patera.

(C) Draped goddess with nimbus and lunar crescent, sword on her left side, and sceptre in right hand, with half-animal top.

(D) Similar, but sceptre in right hand and dish in left hand.

On coins of Huvishka the deity is represented in the following ways:—

(E) Female-deity to right diademed and nimbate, crescent on head, sword at waist, holds sceptre and patera.

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[67] IA, 1888, p. 93.

(F) Similar, but holds sceptre in outstretched right hand, in left patera, with no sword.

(G) The goddess with nimbus and crescent, to right, as Artemis, holding bow in left hand, and drawing an arrow with right hand from quiver at her back.

(H) The goddess with nimbus, crescent, and sceptre, seated on a recumbent lion.

(I) The goddess with nimbus and crescent, standing to right, holding patera with shooting corns with left hand, and her peculiar sceptre in right hand.

(J) King kneeling with hands joined before the goddess Nanaia, who is standing fully draped and nimbate, with her peculiar symbol in right hand, and looking towards the king.

On the coins of Vāsudeva the goddess Nana is represented thus:

Goddess to right, nimbate, head surmounted by crescent, holds sceptre, ending in forepart of a horse, and patera.

Nana was one of the most ancient deities of the East. In Assyria, she was worshipped as Ishtar, in Phoenicia as Astarte, and as Nani by the Syrians. Originally the worship of Nana was foreign to the Mazdean religion of Persia. But during the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B. C. 404-361), her statues were set up in Babylon, Susa and Ekbatana. At that time her worship was also introduced among the Persians and the Bactrians on the East.

Nana is described in the Aban yasht[68] under the name of 'Ardvisūra Anāhita', the mighty goddess Anaitis of the ancient Persians. It corresponds to the Mylitta of the Babylonians and the Venus of the Greeks. Her name "Anahid" is even still preserved in modern Persia and well known to the readers of Hafiz. In the Aban yasht she is always called by three names, which are only epithets: 'Ardvi' meaning "high, sublime", 'Sūra' meaning "strong, excellent", and 'Anāhita, meaning "spotless, pure, clean", which terms refer to the celestial waters represented by her. She is described thus: "She is the giver of fertility, purifies the seed of all males, and the wombs of all females, and provides the latter at the right time with milk. Coming from one of the mountains, Alborz, she is as large as all other waters taken together, which spring out of the heavenly source. This heavenly fountain has a thousand springs and thousand canals, each of them forty days' journey long.

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[68] Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 197-98.

Thence a channel goes through all the seven regions of the earth, conveying everywhere pure celestial water .... Her chariot is drawn by four white horses, which defeat all the devils".

On some gold coins of Huvishka the goddess Nanaia is associated with Śiva thus: On right, the Indian god Śiva, nimbate and four-armed, holding a deer and trident with two left hands, and a small drum and water-vessel, with water dropping, in two right hands; on left the goddess Nanaia, diademed and holding her peculiar symbol.

This association of Nana with Śiva who is held to be the god of death by Cunningham, leads him to identify the goddess with the Greek Persephone, the queen of Hades. As a noose is found in the hand of Śiva on some Kushāṇa coins, Cunningham identifies him with Yama. But, as pointed out by Dr. Banerjea[69] the association of 'pāśa' with Śiva may not mean that he is the binder of all souls, since he is also the loosener of them as it has been said in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad (VI, 13): "Tat karanaṁ sāṅkhayogādhigamyaṁ jñātvā devaṁ muchyate sarva paśaih".

Nana appearing in association with Śiva should be considered as his consort corresponding to the goddess Durgā, Ambikā, or Umā. On some coins Nana is represented as sitting on a lion. This feature equates her with Siṁhavāhini Durgā.

It may be pointed out in this connection that on an unique coin of Huvishka the legend OMMO (Umā)[70] is clearly seen by the side of the female deity appearing there.

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[69] Dev. Hind. Icon., p. 128.

[70] JRAS, 1897, pp. 322-24.

Cunningham thinks that Persephone, the queen of Hades, who is described by Homer as "virgin goddess" and "terrible one" etc. corresponds to the Indian goddess Durgā who is also known as "maiden" (Kumārī) and 'fearful' (Rudrāṇī) the killer of the demons. But Strabo's evidence will go against this theory. He informs us that the statues of Anaitis (Nanaia) and Omanos (Vahumāna of the Āvestā) were found together in the same temple.

If Omanos is taken as the Greek form of Vahumāna, as it has been done by Cunningham himself, then probably his theory may be shown as untenable. Vahumāna has been regarded in the Āvestā as the "Vital faculty of all living beings of the good creation"[71]. So "Vahumāna" should not be confused with the Indian Yama or Judge of the Hades[72]. It has been already pointed out that in the Aban Yasht Anaitis (Nana) has been described as the goddess responsible for good creation. Hence Nana cannot be regarded as the goddess of Death. So also Durgā, the Indian counterpart of Nana cannot be equated with Persephone, the queen of Hades.

The representation of Nana as a goddess holding a bow in her left hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver at her back, makes it likely that she corresponds to Artemis. Artemis in the Greek mythology is a moon-goddess who is the source of fertility and love. The presence of nimbus and lunar crescent with the goddess Nanaia makes it probable that she had a close association with the moon-goddess. The Kushāṇas might have a special liking for the presiding deity of moon, as they belonged to the Ta (Great) Yue-chi (Lunar race).

Ardoksho: On the gold coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, Ardoksho is represented in various ways.

On the coins of Kanishka:—

(A) Female figure to right having modius and nimbus, clad in chiton and himation, holds cornucopiæ.

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[71] Hang, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 306.

[72] N. Chron. XII, 3rd Series, p. 151-52.

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(B) Goddess seated, facing on throne, nimbate, under feet foot-stool, holds wreath and conucopiæ.

(C) Goddess with nimbus, seated on throne without back, holding flower in right hand, and wheat-stem in left hand.

On the coins of Huvishka:—

(D) Female-deity to right, in Greek attire, holds in both hands cornucopiæ.

(E) Similar, with modius and nimbus.

(F) Draped female figure, standing to left holding cornucopiæ before her.

(G) Similar, holding cornucopiæ in left hand and wreath in right hand.

(H) Similar, standing to front, with cornucopiæ in left hand and right hand on hip.

On Vāsudeva's coins:—

Similar to 'A' type: Goddess seated on throne holding cornucopiae.

"Ardoksho" is intended for the Persian deity "Ashi". "Ashi" is a female angel whose full name is "Ashish Vanguhi", corrupted to 'Ashishang'. This means "good truth". She is called the daughter of Ahura Mazda and sister of 'Amesha Speñtas' or archangels.

The Ashi Yasht[73] is devoted to the praise of Ashish Vanguhi or Ashishang. It is due to her that wisdom is an unfailing attribute of prophets. She comes to help all those who invoke her from far and near. The ancient sages and heroes, Yima, Thraetaona, Zarathustra, Kavâ Vishtaspa etc. worshipped her, and to all she gave whatever they wanted, wealth, victory and children.

Thus it will appear from the above account, Ardoksho or 'Ashishang' was most probably a goddess of fortune. She corresponds to Lakshmī, the Indian goddess of fortune, and also to the Greek goddess Tyche.

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[73] Haug, Sacred Writings of the Parsis, p. 215.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is found a description of the attributes of "Śrī" which closely resembles that of "Ashi" as given above. It is said that Śrī came forth from Prajāpati, like Ashi who is described as the daughter of Ahura-Mazda. Her beauty and resplendance made the gods envy her. They wanted to kill her. But Prajāpati dissuaded them from this as she was a female, and asked them to take away all her attributes from her, sparing only her life. "Then Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Brihaspati, Savitri, Pushan, Sarasvatī, and Tvastri took from her food, kingdom, universal sovereignty, noble rank, power, holy lustre, dominion, wealth, prosperity and beautiful forms respectively. Then on Prajāpati's advice, she after offering ten sacrificial dishes to the ten divinities had everything restored to her." (XI, 4, Iff).[74]

The representation of Śrī Lakshmī in Indian art from earliest times shows her association with the lotus. She is shown sometimes standing in a lotus-wood holding a lotus in her hand etc. These features, are marked in her representation at Sāñchi, Bodh Gaya etc. But 'cornucopiae' is a characteristic attribute of the Persian goddess Ardoksho. On Gupta coins Ardoksho is represented as holding a cornucopiae in her hand.

Ardoksho represented on Kushāṇa coins corresponds to Greek Demeter or Tyche as represented on the money of the Indo Greek and Indo Scythic rulers.[75] Demeter is known in Greek mythology as corn-mother.[76]

The style in which the figures of the Graeco-Roman and Persian deities are depicted is very remarkable. The depiction of the figures of the deities on coins follows a particular convention in style. Mihira is exactly in the same attitude as Helios. Mao closely follows Salene. Again, there are resemblances between the figures of Mihira and Mao, Helios and Salene. The distinguishing feature in the case of moon-god is the crescent behind shoulders. The characteristic of the Sungod is his radiate figure. Athsho follows closely Hephaestus. Pallas or Roma differs from Shaoshoro only in the length of her chiton. Nanaia is in exactly the same attitude as Ardoksho, Die-cutters of a local school probably had a few models before their eyes, which they followed in the portrayal of these deities.

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[74] Banerjea's Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 371.

[75] Ibid, p. 155.

[76] Spence, Introduction to Mythology, p. 129-30.

INDIAN DEITIES ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

Indian deities represented on Kushāṇa coins may be divided into two classes: Brahmanical deities and Buddha.

Brahmanical deities:

Śiva (*Oesho*): Representation of Śiva on the coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva is interesting from the iconographic point of view. It is not merely the multiplication of Śiva's hands and heads that is of importance, but also the varying nature of the attributes placed in his hands.

Tarn[77] thinks that Śiva does not appear in person on coins till those of the Kushāṇas. But Rapson shows Śiva's representation in anthropomorphic form on the coins of Gondopharnes and Dr. Banerjea shows the deity's first appearance on the coins of Maues.[78]

However, let us first make a close study of the iconographic features of Śiva presented on the Kushāṇa coins. The first representation of Śiva in theriomorphic form i.e. 'humped bull' is found on the 'Bull and camel' type of Kadphises I's coins. Two copper coins of Kadaphes with Śiva and bull on the obverse have been reproduced by V. Smith.[79] Śiva is found standing with his two hands raised. Behind him is his bull Nandī.

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[77] GBI, p. 402.

[78] Banerjea, Dev. Hind. Icon, p. 119-20.

[79] JASB, 1897, p. 300.

Forms of Śiva on Wema Kadphises' coins:

(A) Śiva facing head to left, holds trident in right hand, drapery over left arm and hanging at back, flames rising form head; behind him humped bull to right.

(B) Śiva facing head to left, holds in right hand, trident and battle-axe combined, in left gourd, tiger-skin on left arm, hair arranged in spiral form.

(C) Śiva standing before bull, trident in right hand, leopard's skin over left arm, and water-pot in left hand.

(D) Śiva stands without bull.

Forms of Śiva on Kanishka's coins:

(E) Śiva is two-armed only, in right hand is a trident and in left hand a gourd or possibly human head.

(F) Four-armed Śiva to front: in his right hands are small hand-drum and water-vessel with mouth downwards, in left hands are trident and antelope.

(G) Four-armed Śiva:, in his two right hands are small drum and wreath, in two left hands, are trident and antelope-skin.

(H) Four-armed Śiva, standing facing with head to left, holding in upper right hand 'vajra' or thunderbolt, in lower right hand a water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper left hand nothing and with lower left hand on hip. Antelope on its hind legs in right field.

(I) Śiva four-armed, standing to left, holding in upper right hand thunderbolt, in lower right hand noose, in upper left hand trident, and lower left arm hanging down.

(J) Śiva, two-armed, standing facing, grasping spear or staff with right hand, left hand hanging down, holds club.

Forms of Śiva on Huvishka's coins:

(K) Śiva to left, nimbate, with four arms and crescent on head, holding in two right hands a small drum and water-vessel with mouth downwards from which water is dropping and in two left hands a trident and a deer or antelope.

(L) Śiva to left, nimbate, wears necklace and has four arms and hands in which are wreath, an indistinct object, trident and goat.

(M) Śiva to left, with four arms and hands in which are wreath, an indistinct object, trident and goat.

(N) Śiva facing, three-headed, has four arms and hands, in which are vase, thunderbolt, trident and club.

(O) Śiva facing, three-headed, nimbate, clad only in waist-band, ithyphallic, has four arms and hands in which are goat, wheel, trident, and thunderbolt.

(P) Two standing figures, male and female, facing each other. On right Śiva, nimbate, and four-armed, holding a deer and trident with two left hands, a small drum and water-vessel with water dropping, in two right hands. On left Nanaia, diademed and holding her peculiar symbol. Legends: to right "OESHO" and to left "NANO."

The same representation of Śiva is found by the side of a goddess holding an indistinct object, probably a flower, with the legend by her side OMMO (Umā).

Forms of Śiva on Vāsudeva's coins:

(Q) Śiva facing, having three faces and two arms, holds wreath and trident. Behind him bull.

(R) Śiva, one-headed facing, holds wreath and trident. Behind him bull to left.

(S) Śiva with three heads and four arms standing to front. In two right hands noose and water-vessel, in two left hands trident and tiger-skin. Behind him bull Nandi with bell.

On the basis of the above data, the forms of Śiva found on Kushāṇa coins may be divided in the following classes:—

(i) Theriomorphic form of Śiva i. e. humped bull, (ii) Two-armed Śiva with or without bull, (iii) Four-armed Śiva with or without bull, (iv) Three-headed and four armed Śiva with or without bull, (v) Three-headed and two-armed Śiva with bull.

The different objects held in the hands of Śiva are the following: trident or trident-battle-axe combined, gourd or human skull, water-vessel with mouth downwards, small drum, wreath, thunderbolt (vajra), spear or staff, club, wheel, deer or goat, noose (pāśa), vase, elephant-goad, tiger or leopard-skin, antelope-skin etc. On some coins of Wema Kadphises occur only the emblems of Śiva such as trident on stand with battle-axe attached.

Another feature of importance is that the deity is always found standing, sometimes leaning on his bull Nandi.

The two armed Śiva on Kadphises II's coins, with drapery over left arm and water-pot, is very interesting. It resembles the figure of Viśvāmitra on Dharaghosha's silver coins and standing Herakles appearing on the coins of some Indo-Greek rulers and on some coins of Huvishka.

The treatment of matted locks of hair on Śiva's head differs in individual specimens. There are two modes. On some specimens hair is arranged in spiral form and on others locks of hair are found dishevelled.

"Flames rising from head" as seen by some scholars are probably unloosened matted locks. Artists may choose to depict Śiva in his fearful (ugra) form.

On one copper coin of Wema Kadphises reproduced in Cunningham's "Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushāṇas" (Pl. XV, II) the deity seems to be polycephalous. Cunningham has described the figure simply as Śiva.

On the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka the 'iconography

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80 B. M. C. Pl. XXV, II.

of Śiva acquires new orientation.' Both the two-armed and the four-armed figures are found with a variety of attributes. On Kanishka's coins Śiva invariably appears without his mount. When he is two-armed, he carries a trident and gourd or human head as suggested by Whitehead. On some gold and copper coins of Kanishka the four-armed deity is shown wearing a garland or necklace. On one set of Kanishka's coins Śiva holds in upper right hand vajra or thunderbolt.

On Huvishka's coins Śiva appears as three-headed and four-armed holding Triśūla. Vajra, Chakra and Paśu (deer or goat). Triśūla is the characteristic attribute of Śiva. Vajra is an attribute of Indra or Greek Zeus. Chakra is the emblem of Vishṇu. 'Paśu' (dear or goat) is the emblem of Paśupati Śiva. Cunningham, Gardner and Whitehead find in place of Vajra a drum in Śiva's hand. But Smith has identified it as Vajra,[81] which, according to Dr. Banerjea, closely resembles the thunderbolt held by Vajrapāṇi, the constant attendant of Buddha in Gandhāra art. The Vaishṇava symbol held in the hand of Śiva seems to show the beginning of the interesting composite icon of subsequent days.[82]

The appearance of Nana by the side of Śiva is very interesting. Nana was probably identified by the die-cutters with Umā, the consort of Śiva.

On Vāsudeva's coins is found not only three-headed and four-armed Śiva, but also three-headed and two-armed Śiva. Among other attributes held in the hands of Śiva, special mention may be made of 'Pāśa' (noose). While Gardner finds 'wreath' in Śiva's hands, Whitehead, Cunningham and Smith consider it as a noose. Śiva appearing on Kanishka's coins also holds a noose in his hand.

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[81] A lightning-shaft and a thunderbolt are occasionally assigned to Rudra in the Rig Vedic hymns—Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 83.

[82] Banerjea, Dev. Hind, Icon, p. 124.

[83] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, p. 151-52.

Coming to a 'noose' (pāśa) being held by Śiva in one of his hands, Cunningham[83] describes him as identical with Yama, "pāśī" or "pāśapāni", the god of death. But Dr. J. N. Banerjea has pointed out that the association of Śiva with noose is old. In the later developed theological doctrines of the Śaiva system pāśa (fetters) is very intimately connected with the god. As it has been already said, he is the binder of the individual souls, as he is also the loosener of them.[84] Though Śiva is specially associated with the act of '*Saṁhāra*' (destruction) or '*Pralaya*' (absorption) in the Hindu concept of Trinity, an exclusive worshipper of Śiva thinks him no less associated with other two acts of 'srishṭi' (creation) and 'sthiti' (preservation) attributed to Brahmā and Vishṇu respectively. Śiva is also endowed with the acts of 'anugraha' or 'prasāda' and 'tirobhāva' (power of concealment). In Brahmanical texts Śiva is conceived as the lord of all created beings, and is often described as Paśupati, Bhūtanātha (lord of animals) etc. He is the great lord (Maheśvara), the greatest of the gods (Mahādeva), the beloved husband of Umā (Umeśa). On the coins of Wema Kadphises the king assumes the title "Māheśvara" i. e. devoted to the great lord Śiva. On some coins of Kanishka is found an antelope or a goat accompanying Śiva, which probably signifies his Paśupati aspect. The Sāṅkhāyana, Kaushiṭakī and other Brāhmaṇas use such names as Śiva, Rudra-Śiva, Mahādeva, Maheśvara and Īśvara for denoting the same god. The Atharva Veda presupposes the rise of Rudra to the position of the supreme god, for it assigns various such epithets to him as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva and Īśāna. The Śatapatha and Kaushiṭakī Brāhmaṇas add 'Asam' to this list. The god has two aspects, 'ghora' (terrific) and 'saumya' (peaceful). Rudra, Sarva (arrow-wielder), Ugra, Asani—these names indicate the destructive aspect, while the names, Bhava, Paśupati, Mahādeva and Īśāna characterise his beneficent[85] aspect.

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[84] Svetāśvatara Upanishad, VI, 13.

[85] Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 89.

Gaṇeśa: On a copper coin of Huvishka is found "archer standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards, accompanied by the legend in Brahmi Gaṇeśo'[86].

The name 'Gaṇeśa' generally denotes the elephant-headed god who is described in the Pauranic accounts as the son of Pārvatī. In chapter 57 of the Brihat Saṁhitā a description of Gaṇeśa is found thus: "The lord of Pramathas (the same as Gaṇas) should be elephant-faced, pot-bellied, holding a hatchet (paraśu) and a radish (mūlaka) and should have one tooth". This is the description of a two-armed image. But in most other texts the deity is described as four-armed.

So the present coin does not present us with a figure bearing the features of Gaṇeśa. The word 'Gaṇeśa' in this case probably means Rudra-Śiva. In the Rig Vedic hymns 'Rudra' is usually said to be armed with bow and arrow. In the sixth Canto of the Rāmāyaṇa Gaṇeśa has been regarded as one of the attributive epithets of Śiva-Maheśvara. Among the various epithets attributed to Śiva in the Atharva Veda, one is 'Śarva' which means "arrow-wielder". In Kirātārjuniyam of Bhāravī Śiva is described as a hunter with bow and arrow. As an epithet attributed to Śiva, Gaṇeśa may mean lord of the people (gaṇa) i. e. lokapāla, which, in wider sense, stands as 'Bhūtanāth', lord of all created beings. Huvishkas' coin has presented us with an iconographic feature of Śiva which is rare and unique.

Oosna (Vishṇu?): On a copper coin of Huvishka in the Indian Museum, Smith has read the legend in cursive Greek 'OOSNA', by the side of a figure of a deity. On the basis of the legend the deity has been identified with Vishṇu. But the reading of the legend seems to be doubtful. Because the attributes of the deity as described by Smith are distinct: "Four-armed deity to left, holding thunderbolt (?), trident (?), water-vessel (?) and wreath (?). None of these attributes have affinity with the emblems of Vishṇu: conch (saṅkha), wheel

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[86] IMC, I, Pl. XIII, 4.

(chakra), club (gadā) and lotus (padma). Rather, those attributes are found with Śiva as depicted on a large number of Kushāṇa coins.

Ommo (Umā): An unique stater of Huvishka formerly belonging to Gen. Cunningham and now in the British Museum, bears on the reverse Śiva together with the consort Umā, whose names appear in the legend OMMO[87]. This coin was published by Gen. Cunningham in Numismatic Chronicle, 1892, Pl. XXIII, 1. In his description he refers to the female deity as the "goddess Nanaia holding her peculiar symbol, to left Nano". But Rapson has seen the inscription 'OMMO' quite clear. He marks the female-deity as different from Nana. Because, while Nana holds in her hand a peculiar symbol, that is, a peculiar sceptre tipped with a horse's head, the goddess on the stater holds a different object which might be a flower. So it has been remarked by Rapson that we may unhesitatingly add Umā to the list of the Indian deities represented on Kushāṇa coins.

Dr. J. N. Banerjea reads 'OMMO' on another stater piece of Huvishka which has been described as "Figure of goddess with the cornucopiae, with the name to left, which is quite blundered and illegible".[88] He reads the legend thus: "It begins from top left corner and runs sideways ; the first two letters are quite clear, but the third letter (the second M) shows two short additional strokes attached to it, and the last letter, an 'O', due to exigencies of space runs into the top corner of the second 'M'. The whole legend reads 'OMMO' ".[89]

But cornucopiae is generally found with Ardoksho. We have so many Kushāṇa coins bearing the legend 'Ardoksho' with the female figure holding cornucopiae. That Umā or Ambikā can be represented with cornucopiae is shown by her representation on Chandra Gupta—Kumāradevī coins

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[87] JRAS, 1897, p. 324.

[88] P. M. C. I p. 197.

[89] Dev. Hind. Icon. Pl. XI, 7.

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in the Imperial Gupta Series. Again, cornucopiae alone cannot convert goddess Umā to Ardoksho, if the legend is clear. It is found on some coins of Huvishka that the figures of deities are not always accompanied by their characteristic attributes. For example, on some coins Mao, the moon-goddess is represented with cornucopiae.

Kārttikeya: The deity is represented on Huvishka's coins with different names, Mahāsena, Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha.

The following are the different representations of the deity:

(A) MAACHNO. Male-deity facing, nimbate, and diademed, clad in coat and chlamys, holds in right hand standard surmounted by bird,[90] in left sword.

(B) CKAN△O KOMAPO BIZAΓO. Two male-figures standing face to face, nimbate, each wearing chlamys and necklace, and sword at waist; but Skanda holds in right hand standard surmounted by bird and Viśākha holds in left hand spear.

(C) CKAN△O KOMAPO MAACHNO BIZAΓO. Niche on basis, within which Skanda and Viśākha standing as above, between them Mahāsena, facing nimbate, clad in chlamys, sword at waist.

Connected with Śiva are the four-gods, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. They are regarded as four different names of one and the same god viz. Kārttikeya. The well-known two verses of the Amarakosha, which include these names, are taken as giving seventeen names of this deity. Patañjali refers to the images of Skanda and Viśākha. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[91] thinks that certainly if these two names had denoted a single deity, Patañjali would have mentioned only one, but as he has used two names it is clear that Skanda and Viśākha must denote two different gods.

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[90] On the obverse of some of Huvishka's coins, the king is represented as holding a standard surmounted by a bird. (B. M. C. XXVIII, 10).

[91] Carm. Lec. 2nd series (1921). p. 22.

On some of Huvishka's coins occur three names, Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha, and on some of them are found four names, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that these four names represent four different gods.[92] In support of his view he brings forward two verses of the Amarakosha which in four lines, mentions Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, one after another. None of these lines mention more than one of the four gods.

·R. G. Bhandarkar[93] thinks that three different figures represented on Huvishka's coins have three names. The first is Skanda. He was also called Mahāsena, as he was the commander of the army of the gods. Mahāsena is the second name on the coin. The third is Kumāra, which is also the name of Skanda and the fourth is Viśākha.

It is proved by Huvishka's coins that there were three gods, or three aspects of the same god, viz. Skanda-Kumāra, Mahāsena and Viśākha.[94] The Mahābhārata tells us about Skanda's several forms, 'Śākha', Viśākha, Naigamya, and his other names, Kumāra and Mahāsena. It shows that various god-concepts of an allied character were merged in the composition of 'Skanda-Kārttikeya'. The Mahāmāyuri text (composed within one and half century of Huvishka's time) shows that Kārttikeya and Kumāra denote the same deity having his famous shrine at Rohitaka. Several holy observances in the name of Kumāra and Kārttikeya are mentioned in Hemadri's Vratakhaṇḍa.

The general belief is that Kārttikeya was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. But in the Rāmāyaṇa he is represented as the son of the god of Fire and Gaṅgā (I chap. 37). In the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata also he is represented as the son of Fire and Svāhā. But here he is also called the son of

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[92] Carm. Lec. 2nd series, p. 22-23.

[93] Collected Works, Vol. IV, p. 215.

[94] Banerjea, Dev. Hind. Icon, p. 146.

Śiva, as Agni is a form of that god. There are other legends connecting him with Śiva and Pārvatī. The connection of Kārttikeya with Śiva is proved by a Lingayat tradition. His having the peacock for his vehicle is also a proof of this connection as peacocks are found in forests of which Rudra and his attendants were gods. His being the leader of the army of the gods was an idea probably suggested by his being the leader of Gaṇas of Rudra[95]. Kārttikeya's association with war is explained by his being adopted as the lord of the Yaudheyas who were known as "ayudhajīvi kshatriyas" i.e. military tribes living on their weapons. In the Bhagavad Gitā (ch. X) the Lord says that he is Skanda among the warriors.

It will not be out of place here to refer to the iconographic description of Skanda as given in the Brihat Saṁhitā (ch. 57, v. 41): Skanda is associated with peacock (barhiketu), he holds a śakti (a sort of spear) and is boyish in appearance. This is a two-armed type of his image. The Vishṇudharmottara text describes this god as Kumāra who is six-faced (sanmukha). The author informs us about three other forms of the god: Skanda, Viśākha and Guha.

Gobl[96] has attempted to show that some iconographic types of Roman origin influenced certain Kushāṇa coin-types discussed above.

"Nana with a sceptre with half animal top" found on the reverse of Kanishka's coins resembles with "Felicitas with pistrix" "represented on some coins of Pius (Acc 138 A.D). "Ardoksho" on the reverse of Kanishka's coins corresponds to the Roman "Fortuna bearing a cornucopiae" represented on some coins of Hadrian (Acc. 117 A. D). "Four-armed Śiva bearing various attributes as drum, water-vessel, trident and antelope" appearing on Kanishka's coins is suggested by a type issued by Hadrian showing "a naked man, Silvanus or Dionysos, going to the right and trailing a buck on his forelegs to a lighted altar before temple situated in a forest" and also resembles "Pietus with Buck" on Pius' coins. The "standing Serapis" found on Huvishka's coins is to be traced on the Alexandrian coinage during the time of Domitianus (Acc. 81 A.D.) and Hadrian "Nana as huntress like Diana" represented on some coins of Huvishka is met with in the Alexandrian coinage during the reign-period of Hadrian and Pius. "Herakles" represented on the Kushāṇa coins, is also found on the Alexandrian coinage during the time of Trajan (Acc. 98 A.D.) and Pius. "Śiva with several heads" represented on Huvishka's coins resembles the representation of "Janus (two heads)" on an aureus of Hadrian. Riom[97] represented on some of Huvishka's coins is derived from the "Roman Pallas" type found on the coins of Hadrian and Pius. "Sharewar" found on Huvishka's coins corresponds to the "Ares Mars" type of Pius' coinage issued in Alexandria as well as Rome. The same type is also found on the coins of Trajan.

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[95] R. G. Bhandarkar. Collected Works, Vol. IV, p. 215.

[96] JNSI, XXII, 1960, pp. 75-95.

"Oanindo" type found on Huvishka's coins resembles "Nike-Victoria" type found on the coins of Rome and Alexandria during the rule of Trajan and Pius. "Three Gods in ÆDicula" (Skanda-Kumāra Viśākha Mahāsena) type of Huvishka's coinage was probably influenced by the same type found on Roman Imperial coinage and Alexandrian coinage during the time of Hadrian and Pius.

The commonness between certain Kushāṇa coin-types and Roman types is so clearly evidenced that it cannot be overlooked. An explanation of this phenomenon may lie in the fact that possibly the Kushāṇas appointed technically skilled people from Alexandria, where Roman coins were minted, as die-cutters for the manufacture of their own coins. Those technicians familiar with the art of die-cutting brought with them their own patterns which were adopted by the

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[97] Gobl's reading is 'Rishno'. His view is that Rome could not be represented in the Kushāṇa coin series. But in view of intimate economic and political relations between the Romans and the Kushāṇas, the probability of the representation of the city of Rome (Roman) cannot be altogether ruled out.

Kushāṇas to serve their ends, political, commercial and cultural.

BUDDHA

Buddha is represented on gold and copper coins of Kanishka. The representations are the following:—

(A) Bo△△o. Buddha, standing to front, with nimbus, clad in long robes to mid-leg, carrying alms-bowl in left hand, right hand advanced to front, as if in act of blessing.

(B) CAKAMANO.....BOY△O. Buddha, nimbate, facing standing, his right hand raised in explaining or preaching attitude, in left wallet.

(C) Buddha, seated with left hand in lap, and right hand raised in the attitude of blessing. CAKAMANO BOY△O.

(D) Buddha seated on pediment with both hands raised in front of breast. Greek legend incomplete, on left 'CAKA' on right N...BOY.

The iconographic features of Buddha represented on Kanishka's coins are really interesting. Firstly, the postures attract our attention. On some coins Buddha is found standing to front and on other coins he is found seated, when his right is advanced to front possibly in act of blessing (Varada mudrā). This is one of the commonest mudrās to be observed in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina iconography. It stands for the assurance of fearlessness, tranquillity and protection given by the deity to his worshipper.[98] On some coins standing Buddha makes gesture of explaining or preaching (Vyākhyāna mudrā). On a well-preserved gold stater in the British Museum,[99] Buddha is seated, his right hand on his breast, making the posture of argument (Vitarkamudrā), his left hand holding the bottle of ambrosia (amṛita). On some specimens seated Buddha is represented with both hands joined together upon his breast. This posture is called that of instruction (dharmachakramudrā)—the two hands seeming to turn the wheel of Law. The posture in which the Buddha is represented as seated cross-legged on a sort of throne is known as 'mahārājasana'.

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[98] Banerjea, Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 251.

[99] J. A. XXXII, 1903, p. 428.

The dress on the body of Buddha is shown prominently. Generally, it is made up of three pieces, viz., the lower garment (antarvāsaka) which hangs down to the ankles and is gathered round the loins with a girdle, the upper garment (uttarāsaṅga) which covers the breast and shoulders below the knees and the cloak (Sanghāti) worn over the two under garments. On the coins of Kanishka it is found that Buddha wears an upper garment which covers the breast and the shoulders, and a lower garment which hangs down to the feet.

Buddha's head is surmounted by the ushṇīsha, his characteristic feature, as well as by the urṇā or excrescence between the eye-brows which is not found on the coins, because of the smallness of the face. 'Ushṇīsha' and 'Urṇā' are marks of "bodhi" (perfect knowledge) which belong to Buddha only.

The whole body of Buddha is enveloped by an aureole (prabhāmaṇḍala) on the gold piece of the British Museum. On other examples, Buddha is represented with a simple nimbus round his head. In iconographic texts, the nimbus is known as "Śiraschakra" which is associated with the divine figures. The nimbus is a halo circle round the head, while the aureole is a larger halo round the whole of the divine body. Grunwedel remarks about the halo round the Buddha heads of Gandhāra that the "nimbus is borrowed from the Greek school".[100] M. E. Drouin also thinks that the nimbus and the aureole which surround the head and body of Buddha are of Hellenic origin, since there exists no figured representation of Buddha before Kanishka.[101]

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100 Buddhist Art, p. 86.

101 I. A. XXXII, 1903, p. 431.

There is one important fact in Indian iconography and in the history of Buddhism. On none of the most ancient monuments of India, those that are supposed to be before the Christian era, such as those at Sañchi, at Bharhut, the bas-reliefs of Orissan caves, at Bodh Gaya, are found human representation of Buddha. Buddha is only represented by symbols, such as the wheel, the sacred tree, the chaitya, the stūpa etc. Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained at specific designations. It has been said that "in Buddhist art no certain representation of him appears on coins before the time of Kanishka. On account of the hammer-like object placed in his raised right hand, the seated figure on some coins of Kadaphes cannot be definitely recognised as Buddha... The seated figure on copper coins of Maues and on others from Ujjayini are of uncertain character".[102]

Tarn finds Buddha's earliest representations on Maues' coin (B. M. C. XXXII, 14). The high probability of there being a representation of Buddha on coin of Maues was pointed out by Longworth Dames[103]. "A close examination of the plates and three specimens in my possession fails to confirm the presence of a sword, the horizontal line to the right being probably part of the seat. The attitude of the figure seems to justify its identification as a seated Buddha, very like the seated Buddha on Kanishka's coin."

R. B. Whitehead thinks that Buddha's representation is found on the coins of Kadphises I. According to him, 'B' type of Kadphises I's coins in the Punjab Museum catalogue Pt. I shows 'Buddha seated in coventional attitude with uncertain object in right hand on the obverse and 'deity, probably Zeus, wearing the diadem, standing to right, with right arm extended and long sceptre in left hand' on the reverse. V. Smith also supports this view. He possessed three specimens assigned to Kadaphes on account of the legend 'XOPANCY', two of which had seated Buddha on one side and "Śiva and bull design" on another side. The third specimen had seated Buddha on one side and Zeus on the other side. Smith concludes on the strength of these Buddha specimens that the 'introduction of Buddha image does not date from the reign of Kanishka, but goes back at least to the coins of Kadaphes[104].

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[102] Cf. Coomaraswamy, "The origin Buddha image", Banerjea, Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 112.

[103] JRAS, 1912.

So far as the portrayal of seated Buddha on Maues' coins is concerned, there is much scope for doubt about it. The figure in question has been described by some numismatists as that of 'king seated cross-legged on cushión and holding a sword or mace on his knees'. But Tarn[105] advances the following arguments to show that the representation on Maues' coins is that of Buddha :—

(A) The so-called sword or mace is in reality the back of Buddha's throne;

(B) The figure is not seated on a cushion which would go down in the middle and up at the ends, if a man were sitting on it;

(C) The elephant on the obverse of the coins is supposed to be doing reverence to the seated figure on the reverse;

(D) The fact that the figure is placed on the reverse should alone be conclusive that it cannot represent the king.

Sir John Marshall[106] refutes those arguments in the following way :—

(A) The so-called back of Buddha's throne is manifestly the same sort of weapon and held in the same way as one depicted on an analogous coin of Azes

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[104] Numismatic notes and novelties II, JASB, 1897, p. 300 and JASB, 1898.

[105] Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 400.

[106] Taxila, Vol. I, pp. 79-81.

(B. M. C. XIX, I). The weapon appears to represent a short sword partly unsheathed, with the scabbard to the proper left of the figure, the hilt of the sword to his right, and the thin line of blade itself is visible in front of the body.

(B) As to the question of cushion it is said that, on the coin of Azes, the cushion on which the king is seated is far more convex in shape than it is on the coins of Maues.

(C) The motif of an elephant offering flowers etc. to Buddha was common enough in early Indian sculpture but it would not be repugnant to Indian ideas for an elephant to take the place of Nike in offéring wreath to the king.

(D) In placing his own figure on the reverse, Maues was following the precedent set by Antimaches, II Nikephoros, who appears on horse-back on the reverse of his silver issues, with a Nike holding a palm or wreath on the obverse (B. M. C. XIII, 3). Antimachus Nikephoros ruled in Gandhāra and it was in Gandhāra also Maues struck this peculiar coin.

The "Elephant with wreath" in place of Nike with wreath on the obverse of the coin, was copied from a similar type on square copper coin of Antialcidas, the other face of which bears a bust of the king.

In this case, the seated figure on the coin of Maues is of uncertain character.

So far as the representation of Buddha[107] on the coins of Kadphises I is concerned, scholars are divided in their opinion. Arguments against this are the following:—

(A) The conical knobbed cap is not the attribute of Buddha.

(B) A weapon in the raised right hand is also not the attribute of Buddha.

[107] Kushāṇa Coin No. 29, P. M. C. I.

The figure cannot be explained as Śiva as suggested by J. N. Banerjea[108]. Marshall has suggested that the figure must be that of king[109]. He discovered seventy-eight specimens of "seated king and Zeus"[110] type of coins in Taxila excavations.

On the obverse of these coins is the figure "seated cross-legged with right hand uplifted, wears conical head-dress with knob at the top. On the reverse is found Zeus standing with right hand advanced.

The two coins of Kadaphes[111] reproduced by Smith as Buddha specimens, bear on the obverse "Śiva and bull" design and on the reverse the so-called "Buddha, seated cross-legged with right arm raised and left hand on hip". It is difficult to regard the figure on the reverse as that of Buddha in view of the following grounds which make the identification doubtful: —

(A) It seems rather unusual that the king should not be represented on any side of the coin. He should be placed either on the obverse or on the reverse.

(B) The representation of deities on both the sides of a coin is rare in the numismatic usage of the Kushāṇas.

(C) The seated figure with raised arm represented on the reverse of the two coins concerned closely follows the design on the obverse of the 'King and Zeus' type reproduced by Marshall (Taxila vol. II, pp. 792, 818, 840).

(D) Representation of seated king on the reverse is not unknown. The coins of Maues and Azes discussed above show the king seated on the reverse.

(E) Tradition establishes Kanishka as the patron of Buddhism.

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[108] Dev. Hind. Icon. p. 112, n. 2.

[109] Cf. The Azes coin, P. M. C. Pl. XI, 195.

[110] Taxila, Vol. II, p. 792, 818, 840.

[111] JASB, 1897, p. 300.

Similar evidence is wanting in the case of Kujula Kadphises.

As already stated, the Buddha-figure is conspicuous by its absence in the sculptures of Bodh Gaya (B. C. 250) and Bharhut (B. C. 150). His empty throne, his bowl and his foot-prints are frequently shown. No sculptured figure of Buddha is found prior to the time of Kanishka. The earliest figures are those found in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus.

A classification of the deities has been given above, according to the different pantheons to which they belong, viz. Brahmanical, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Greek, Elamite, etc. requiring an investigation of the mythological origin and character of every deity to be traceable in its representation on the Kushāṇa coins. In rare cases the mythological character of a deity appears to be incompatible with its iconographic features as represented on coins. In some instances attributes unknown to mythology are found to have evolved. The die-cutters of the Kushāṇa period were of much help in accepting the mythic ideas and conceptions of multifarious divinities to the purpose of their visual representations on coin-types.

If the deities are to be classified according to their characteristic attributes, as we have shown in the foregoing discussion, they may be arranged under the following categories:—

(a) Ancient heroes and war-gods: Herakles, Orlagno Mahāsena, Skanda Kumāra and Viśākha; (b) Sun-gods: Helios, Mihira, Ardaviksha, Anio; (c) Moon-gods: Salene, Mao, Manaobago; (d) Water-god: Uron (Varuṇa); (e) Fire-gods : Hephaestus, Athsho; (f) Wind-god : Vāda; (g) God of lightning: Luhrasp; (h) Gods of Victory and glory: Oaninda (Victory), Pharro (glory); (i) God of wealth: Shaoshoro, Ardoksho; (j) God of death: Serapis, (k) City-goddess: Riom (Roma); (l) Supreme God: Zeus, Ahura Mazda, Śiva; (m) Supreme Goddess: Nana and Umā.

CHAPTER VII

METROLOGY OF THE KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

The institution of gold coinage by Wema Kadphises in a country which had been without gold coins since the Achaemenid period is to be connected with the influx of Roman gold through trade and commerce. The Roman coins found in Southern India in and near Coimbatore district and Madura are more numerous than the finds in the North[1]. The reasons for the dearth of coins in the North are mainly two: (a) The export to Rome in exchange for which Roman coins were brought to India, was mostly of products of South India and the Deccan; (b) the Kushāṇa kings probably had the Roman coins melted down in a mass and new coins issued from the metal being exactly the weight of the aurei.

Influx of Roman gold: Trade relations between the East and the West:

Indian trade with the Roman empire reached its height during the period from Augustus to Nero. This is the period of Rome's Asiatic conquests which made her a world-power controlling trade-routes between the East and the West. The impulse behind this Indo-Roman trade was the demand of luxury goods of India by the Roman aristocratic class. Pliny[2] (A. D. 77) is found to be lamenting and condemning the wasteful extravagance of the rich and their reckless expenditure on luxuries from the Orient. "At the lowest reckoning one hundred million sesterces are taken from us every year by India, the Seres and Arabia". So dearly did the Romans pay for their luxuries. Not only the demand for Indian luxuries that increased the volumes of Roman trade, but also the discovery of the regularity of the monsoons in the Indian ocean gave the stimulus. This discovery was made in 47 A. D. by Hippalus[3] the pilot of a ship, and ships began to sail direct to the port of Muziris in Malabar, a circumstance which added immensely to the security of cargoes which had no longer to fear Arabian attacks on caravans crossing the desert, or piracy on ships sailing by the coast. With Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, communication was established of two seaports, Berenica and Myos Hormos, situated on the Egyptian coast. From these ports the ships sailed to India along the coast of Arabia and Persia. There were overland-routes from India to the west across Central Asia along the Oxus to the Caspian and the Black Sea or through Persia to Asia Minor, or by the Persian gulf and the Euphrates through Damascus and Palmyra to the Levant. But these overland-routes were of less importance than the sea-routes. The Egyptian Greeks carried on the extensive trade in Indian commodities under the Ptolemys. The Periplus states that these Greek merchants sailed from Egypt in the month of July and arrived at Muziris in 40 days. They stayed on the Malabar coast for about three months and commenced their return voyage from Muziris in the month of December or January.

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[1] JRAS, 1904: "Roman coins found in India" by Robert Sewell.

[2] Natural History, XII, 41 (18).

Both the Periplus and Ptolemy's geography (A.D. 140) describe the whole sea-coast from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges and mention many towns and ports of commercial importance. These are among others—Syrastrene (Surāt), Ariake, Soupara, Muziris, Bakare, Maisolia and other places. Barygaza or Broach was the emporium of trade on the western coast of India. The next important notice of Indian commerce is given in the "Christian Topography" of Cosmas Indicopleustes (A.D. 531) furnishing informations about Malabar, chief seat of pepper-trade, and Ceylon, the centre of commerce betweed China and the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

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[3] Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Chapter LVII.

The articles of this Roman trade comprised chiefly spices and perfumes, precious stones and pearls, and silk, muslin and cotton. The consumption of aromatics in Rome was stimulated by religious and funeral customs. Pliny refers to pepper and ginger of India and the great demand for them in Rome. The most valuable stone exported from India was beryl (vaidurya). Silk, muslin and cotton were sold in Rome at fabulously high prices. In the reign of Aurelian, silk was worth fully its weight in gold. Tiberius had to pass a law forbidding transparent silk as an indecent dress. In the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea occurs a list of exports through different ports situated on the western coast of India. The exports from Baryagaza (Broach) are onyx, stones, porcelain, fine muslin, cotton, spikenard, perfumes, ivory, silk etc. The exports from Barake (Nelkynda) are pepper, pearls, ivory, fine silks, spikenard, betel, precious stones, diamonds etc. Almost all the articles were produced in South India. Some of the perfumes come from North India. Cotton was produced in the Deccan. Muslin was manufactured mostly at Masulipatam and country near about. This is the reason why Roman coins are more extensively found in South India than in North India. Most of the coins have been found in the Coimbatore district and Madura, the capital city of the Pandyan kingdom.

Of great importance is the discovery of an Indo-Roman trading station at Arikamedu[4], on the Bay of Bengal, two miles south of Pondicherry, which almost certainly equates etymologically with 'Podouke' of the Periplus and the Podouke emporium of Ptolemy. The small area excavated here in 1945 yielded 31 sherds of Italic ware, and a score or more of additional fragments have been found before and since the year. This has shown how in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, Roman wine and table-wares were already reaching the far-off Coromandal coast.

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[4] Wheeler, Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers, pp. 129, 178.

From an examination of Roman coins found in India Robert Sewell[5] arrived at the following conclusions:—

(a) There was hardly any commerce between India and Rome during the Consulate.

(b) With Augustus began an intercourse which, enabling the Romans to obtain Oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero.

(c) From this onward trade declined till the date of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

(d) From the time of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

(e) It revived again though slightly under the Byzantine emperors.

Dr. Sewell's view that Roman trade with India was declining after Caracalla (247 A.D.) needs modifications on the following grounds:—

(a) The evidence of findings of Roman coins shows that Roman trade with India continued at least upto the 4th century A.D. In this connection, reference may be made to the discovery of Roman coins[6] from Allahabad (U. P.) and from Vizagapattam district (Madras). The former coins belong to Diocletian (A.D. 283-93) and the latter ones belong to Constantine the great (A.D. 337).

(b) Active commerce between India and the Roman empire, through Palmyra and Alexandria, flourished till the third century A.D. The period of Palmyra's is that during which (A.D. 105-273) Roman intercourse with India attained its maximum. G. B. Priaulx[7] tells us that it was during the reigns of Severus (A.D. 194-210), his son Caracalla (A.D. 211-217) and the Pseudo-Antonines that Alexandria and

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[5] JRAS, 1904, "Roman coins found in India".

[6] Ancient India (Archaeological Bulletin), 1946 No. 2.

[7] The Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome, p. 129.

Palmyra were most prosperous, and that Roman intercourse with India attained its height.

The story of Roman trade with India, given above in brief, is intimately bound up with the history of Kushāṇa gold coinage, Most probably, the beginning, culmination and decline in the Indo-Roman trade resulted in the growth and decay of the Kushāṇa gold coinage. The background of Indo-Roman trade will help us to understand clearly some of the metrological problems, especially connected with the Kushāṇa gold coinage.

Weight standard of the Kushāṇa gold coinage:

The Imperial Kushāṇas issued large numbers of gold coins beginning from the time of Wema Kadphises. Cunningham,[8] long ago, showed that the average weight of the full denomination gold pieces of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva was about 123 grains. After taking the weight of 179 specimens, Cunningham got the following results:—

19 Dinaras of Wema Kadphises average 122.21 grains.
21 Dinaras of Kanishka average 122.19 grains.
18 Dinaras of Huvishka average 122.16 grains.
21 Dinaras of Vāsudeva average 123.3 grains.

The small quarter Dinaras of these four kings weigh 30·8 grains. That would give a full denomination gold coin of 123·2 grains.

The gold coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas may be divided into three classes according to their average weight:—

(A)	Double-Dinara	...	246.4 grains.
(B)	Dinara	...	123.2 grains.
(C)	Quarter-Dinara	...	30.8 grains.

The variations in weight in each of these classes may be taken into consideration. One specimen of the "Bearded head of king and combined trident-battle-axe-type is the only quarter-Dinara[9] of Wema Kadphises so far discovered

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[8] N. Chron, IX, 3rd series, p. 296.

[9] A. H. Wood III "gold coin types of the great Kushāṇa ; p. 4. Coin no. 13.

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weighing 30.5 grains. The quarter Dinaras of Kanishka[10] have different weights. The 'Athsho' type weighs 29.7 and 30.7 grains, 'Mao' type weighs 31.0 grains, Mihira type weighs 30.1 grains, 'Nana' type is 31.0 and 30.2 grains, 'Oesho' type is 30.5 and 30.1 grains, 'Pharro' type is 30.0 grains only. The quarter-dinaras of Huvishka[11] also have various weights e.g. 'Ardoksho' type is 30.6 grains, 'Mao' type is 30.7 grains, 'Mihira' type 29.5 grains, 27.0 grains, 30.7 grains, 29.5 grains, 30.1 grains, and 30.2 grains, 'Nana' type is 28.5 grains, 'Oesho-Nana' type is 30.8 grains, 'Onia' type is 30.2 grains, 'Pharro' type is 33.3 grains, "Sarapo" type is 30.5 grains, 'Skanda Kumaro Bizago" type is 31.0 grains. The quarter-Dinaras of Vāsudeva[12] vary in weight from 30.7 grains to 30.0 grains (both "Oesho" type). So we find that the range of weight of the Kushāṇa quarter-dinaras is from the lowest limit of 27 grains only to the highest limit of 30.8 grains. Most of the coins weigh above 30 grains.

Only a few double-dinaras[13] were issued by Wema Kadphises. They vary in their weights. The "King seated on clouds and Śiva" type weighs 245.0 grains, the "Enthroned king and Śiva" type weighs 244.4 grains, the "Bust of king on clouds and Śiva" type weighs 245.4 grains and also 246.1 grains, the "Head of King in square frame and Śiva" type weighs 237.6 grains. Thus it is found that the lowest limit in the case of double dinaras is 237.6 grains and the highest limit is 246.1 grains.

The weight of the dinaras of Wema Kadphises ranges from 119.0 grains to 123.3 grains. Kanishka's dinaras weigh from 109.2 grains ('Boddo' type)[14] to 123.4 grains. Huvishka's dinaras weigh from 119.3 grains to 125 grains ('Mahāsena' type)[15] The weight of Vāsudeva's dinaras ranges from 122.3 grains to 124.7 grains. Thus the lowest limit is 109.2 grains and the highest limit is 125 grains. The average may be fixed at 123 grains.

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[10] A. H. Wood, Ibid. p. 11-12, Nos. 5, 32-40.

[11] Ibid. pp. 34-36. Nos. 5, 143-156.

[12] Ibid. p. 39, Nos. 165, 166.

[13] Ibid. pp. 1-3, Nos. 1-5.

[14] Cunningham. Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Pl. XVIII, 7; B. M. C. Pl. XXVI. 8.

Relative market-value of gold and silver:

The average weight of the dinaras, that is, the standard gold coin of the Kushāṇas, was much below the Attic standard of little over 130 grains troy. The question naturally arises: why is this change in the weight of the gold coins?

In answering to this question due notice should be taken of the evidence of rise in the value of gold and fall in the price of silver[16] in the Kushāṇa period, when the weight of a silver didrachm still remained near 148 grains. From the testimony of Xenophon it is learnt that in the Achaemenian empire or Persia twenty silver coins (known as siglos) each weighing about 85 grains, were equal in value to one gold coin (known as Daric), weighing about 130 grains. If we ignore the alloy, this would place the ratio of silver and gold at about 13 : 1. In contemporary Greece, the ratio was about 14 : 1, but later on it became 12 : 1. In 306 B. C. the ratio between silver and gold was 10 : 1. This was also the ratio in the time of Augustus.

It may be assumed that the Indo-Bactrians continued the old Greek and Persian ratio of one gold coin being the equivalent of twenty silver coins. The stater weighed 12 oboli of about 130 grains, and the drachm weighed 6 oboli of about 65 grains. If twenty drachms be equal to one stater, the ratio between silver and gold may be worked out as 10 : 1. It would be seen that silver was relatively dearer in India in terms of gold.

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[15] I. M. C. I Pl. XII. 8.

[16] S. K. Chakrabarty "Ancient Indian Numismatics", pp. 83-87 ; A. S. Altekar, JNSI II, 1940, pp. 1-3.

This relative dearness of silver prevailed down to the first century A. D. The Periplus informs us that silver could be profitably exchanged for gold in India. From the Nasik inscriptions (No. 10) it is known that 70,000 Karshapanas were equal in value to 2000 suvarṇas and thus 35 Karshapanas would be equal to one suvarṇa. If it is assumed like Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that the silver Karshapanas and the gold suvarṇas represented the traditional indigenous currency of the weight of 32 ratis and 80 ratis respectively, then the ratio between silver and gold would be 35 × 32 : 80 i. e. 14 : 1. But this conclusion goes against the testimony of the Periplus, according to which in the first century A. D., silver was dearer in India than in the West. So Karshapanas and Suvarṇas referred to in the Nasik inscriptions should not be considered as of the standards mentioned in the Smritis, but of those actually in vogue during the period represented, i. e. the second century A. D. Silver coins were issued by Nahapana in Western India. No indigenous Suvarṇa of contemporary India are known except the gold coins of the Kushāṇas. It is known that the silver coins of Nahapana weigh not 32 ratis or 57 grains but about 35 grains only. The Kushāṇa gold coins weighed not 80 ratis or 140 grains but about 124 grains only. If these were the prevailing standards the ratio between silver and gold was about 10 : 1. The ratio might have been even 9 : 1, if the percentage of alloy in the Kushāṇa gold coinage of the period were taken into account.[17] In Persia, at that time, the ratio was 13 : 1. It was thus profitable to exchange silver for gold in India as the author of the Periplus has mentioned.

The extensive silver coinage of the Greek rulers in India like Antimachus, Antialkidas, Menander and Apollodotus which were familiar to the common people were not probably withdrawn from circulation by the Kushāṇas by recoining them. But they recoined the vast number of Roman gold coins imported into India through trade and commerce. They tried to adjust the new gold coinage to the existing value of silver. Now, at that time, well-preserved specimens of silver hemidrachms would weigh about 37 grains only, and the average weight of the silver didrachms was 148 grains only. If the new gold coin was equal in value to ten didrachms and forty hemidrachms, its value in silver could have been 1,480 grains. This amount, at 12 ratis of silver for one gold, would make the weight of the new gold coin 123·3 grains, which is the average weight of the Kushāṇa gold coins.[18]

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[17] Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p. 16.

If the Kushāṇa gold coins are compared with the gold coins of the Roman emperors, Tiberius and Nero, it is found that the latter influenced the former in size and weight.[19] But Kennedy saw no sign of direct Roman influence upon the metrology of Kanishka's coinage. In his view the relative value of gold and silver was the only determining factor in the Kushāṇa gold coinage. The question "why had the value of gold in proportion to silver rise from 1:10 to 1:12 since the time of Alexander ?" has been dealt with in details by Kennedy whose main conclusions may be summed up here.

When Alexander introduced gold and silver currency, the ratio between the two metals was usually low. Herodotus tells us that in his time silver stood to gold as 13:1. By 400 B.C. the ratio had fallen to 12:1 and by 300 A.D. it became 10:1. Originally, the chief gold mines were in Asia and Africa, and gold was in common use for commercial purposes in Asia and Egypt. From Greek towns of Asia the use of gold as a medium of exchange had passed to the Greeks of

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[18] N. Chron, IX, 3rd series, p. 295. The full weight of a gold stater in Eucratides's time and before was 134·4 grains troy, which at 10 ratis gave its equivalent silver value at 1344 grs. troy. This divided by 20 gave the weight of the silver drachm as 67·2, that of didrachm as 134·4 and hemidrachm as 33·6 grs. After Eucratides the average weight of 16 didrachms has become 146·3 grs. while that of 82 hemidrachms has risen to 36·48 full weight of a didrachm now being as much as 148 grs. Thus 1/10 i.e. 37 grs. had been added to the weight of the silver coins, as the rate had changed to 11 silver to 1 gold.

[19] JRAS, 1912, pp. 999ff.

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the mainland. But, in other parts of Europe, its use was unknown down to Alexander's time. With the Roman conquest of Greece and parts of Asia at the commencement of the second century B.C., all this was changed. After the battle of Magnesea (190 B.C.) the Romans levied a crushing tribute upon Syria. In 189 B.C. the Aetolians paid one-third of their tribute in gold, being unable to pay it in silver. After this, the drain of gold from Asia to Rome continued without stop. Vast quantities of gold were stored up in Roman treasury and withdrawn from circulation. Immense sums of gold also were hoarded by the great nobles who acted as the chief patrons of the king and states of Asia. By the beginning of the first century B.C. the proportional value of gold had risen from 1:10 to 1:12. At this figure it stood for the next two hundred years. The standard maintained by the Roman mint from the time of Julius Caesar down to Trajan was 1:11·91. But even before the Roman conquest of Asia another cause was at work, although in a far less degree, to raise the price of gold. Alexander's conquests had greatly widened the area over which gold coinage was issued. The gold coins of the Seleucids are comparatively rare. Diodotus and Euthydemus may have obtained some gold from Siberia and Central Asia. But after the battle of Magnesia gold practically disappeared from the coinage of the Bactrians and Indo-Greeks. To prevent the growing depreciation of silver didrachms, Menander, his contemporaries and his successors raised its weight from 134·4 to 148 grains. But this was insufficient to tempt back the gold which by the time of Kanishka had risen to the ratio of 1:12, the rate at which he struck his gold coinage.

The relation between the weight standard of the Kushāṇa coins and that of the Roman aurei was remote and indirect,[20] according to Kennedy. The gold coinages of both Kanishka and Julius Caesar were the remote descendants of Macedonian coinage, their weight being determined by the market-value of gold.

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[20] JRAS, 1912, pp. 999ff.

However, Cunningham's conclusion that the weight of the Imperial Roman aurei of the time of Augustus to Nero had some connection with the gold coins of Wema Kadphises and his successors will appear to be highly probable on the combined evidence of the influx of Roman gold into India, finds of Roman gold coins in large numbers in South India, and their comparative scarcity in Northern India.

Relation between the Kushāṇa and Roman gold standards:

The Roman standard had undoubted influence on the Kushāṇa gold coinage during the time of Augustus and Nero, as it has been held by Cunningham and others. But it should be noted that the Kushāṇa gold coins were not throughout copied from the Roman aureus in point of weights. If that were so, then the weight of the Kushāṇa coins would have kept pace with the fluctuation in the weight of the Roman coinages of the first and second centuries A. D. On the contrary the standard weight of the Kushāṇa coinage was maintained throughout the whole period, from the time of Kadphises II down to the end of Vāsudeva's reign.[21]

The Great Kushāṇa Kings solved their economic difficulties in course of time by slightly debasing the quality of gold in their coinage while the Roman emperors maintained the quality of the aureus but progressively reduced its weight.[22]

It has been shown by S. K. Maity[23] that the gold content of the Kushāṇa coins gradually decreased. On an examination of four dinaras of Vima Kadphises, it has been found that their average weight is 121·1 grains and average of pure gold is 119 grains. In this way, the average weight of Kanishka's gold coins is found to be 120·45 grains, their average weight of pure gold being 117·5 grains. The coins of

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[21] N. Chron, IX, 3rd series, p. 296.

[22] D. W. MacDowall, "weight standard of the Kushāṇa coinag e", JNSI, Vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 63-74.

[23] JNSI, Vol. XX, 1958, pp. 162-64.

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Huvishka may be grouped into two classes: one weighing 123.6 grains, the average weight of pure gold being 115.3 grains, while the coins of the other group weigh about 119.7 grains, their average weight of pure gold being 110.7 grains. This analysis of the gold content of Huvishka's coins may suggest the existence of two Huvishkas as pointed out by A. L. Basham (B. S. O. S. 1957, pp. 77-85). But from the point of view of design and fabric they cannot be grouped on such rigid principle. The coins of Vāsudeva are found to weigh about 117.85 grains, while their average weight of pure gold is 102.5 grains. It is clear from the specific gravity analysis published by S. K. Maity that the percentage of pure gold that the Kushāṇa dinaras contained was very slightly but progressively reduced in the time of the successors of Vāsudeva.

An examination of the weights of the Roman aurei and Kushāṇa dinăras shows no precise correspondence between the two coinages even at the time when the denomination was first introduced by Vima Kadphises[24]. The only Roman aurei struck to the standard of 123 grains or 8 grammes adopted by Vima and his successors belonged to the moneyers of Augustus (19-14 B. C.). The aurei of 45-44 B. C. and 43-37 B.C, were struck to a standard of about 8.1 gms. The subsequent groups of 36-27 B. C. and 27-19 B. C. were struck to a standard of about 7.9 grams and to the same standard were struck the Roman aurei of 2 B.C.-A.D. 14. The average weights of the gold coins of Tibarius, Claudius and the pre-reform period of Nero are 7.8 grams, 7.7 grams and 7.6 grams, respectively. It shows how the weight standard of aureus was reduced gradually. In the reform of A.D. 64, Nero reduced the weight of the aureus by 0.3 grams, and his post-reform aurei were struck to the standard of 7.3 grams, Domitian and Nerva tried to return to the pre-reform standard but in vain. But all other rulers followed the post-reform standard of 7.3 grams.[25]

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[24] JNSI, XXII, 1960. pp. 63ff.

[25] JNSI, 1960. XXII. pp. 63-74.

The Kushāṇa and Roman coinages seem to have been exchanged principally in large-scale commercial transactions of International trade. But they never seem to have circulated side by side in the same or adjacent territories. The Roman coins are found in different parts of India, e.g. Bihar, Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, Madras Presidency, Punjab, N. W. Frontier Provinces and Afghanistan, United Provinces, Cochin State, Hyderabad State, Mysore State, Padukottai State, and Travancore State[26]. The date of these coins ranges from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. But the gradual reduction of the weight of the Roman aurei as noticed above may lead to the conclusion that the average weight standard of the Kushāṇa dinaras did not follow the average weight standard of the Roman aureus, While the average weight of the Great Kushāṇa coinage was 8 grams, that of the Roman aureus was gradually reduced from 8 grams to 7.3 grams. As already stated, the issue of gold coins by the Kushāṇa monarchs was possibly due to the import of Roman gold to India in connection with trade and commerce. The standard of the Kushāṇa dinaras, however, seems to be determined by the relative value of gold and silver during their time.

Coin-denominations : *Dinara*

The use of the Roman word "Denarius" in its form "Dinara" in early inscriptions is well-known. The name is come across in some inscriptions of the Gupta period, such as the Sanchi inscription of A D. 450-1 and also in the Rajatarangini in its reference to Toramāna, the Huna king. "Dinara" is mentioned as a synonym for "Suvarṇa" in the Smritis of Brihaspati and Kātyāyana. The Gupta gold coins have been referred to as "Dināras" in the inscriptions. The later Kushāṇa coins which were the prototype of the earliest Gupta gold coins may have been known by the same name "Dināra".

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[26] Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), 1946, No. 2.

Kushāṇa:

It has been suggested that another term which came into use in the Kushāṇa period as coin-denomination of foreign origin is 'Kushana'[27]. In the Nasik inscription of Ushabhadata, son-in-law of Kshatrapa Nahapana, mention is made of an investment as providing some resident monks with "Kuśāṇa mūla". According to S. K. Chakravarty, 'Kuśāṇa' used in this context refers to the coins of the Kushāṇa emperors. The gold coins of Kanishka have the legend 'Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano', but the copper coins omit the word 'Koshano'. From this it has been inferred that it is the gold coins of Kanishka which are referred to in the inscription as "Kuśāṇamūla" i.e. the value of a 'Kushāṇa'[28], the gold coins of Kanishka, since gold was the standard coinage of the Empire. But the term "Koshano", though omitted on the copper coins of Kanishka, is found on the copper coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Actually the term "Kushāṇa" is used as the name of a race or a clan.

The term "Kushāṇa" in the inscriptional expression "Kushāṇamūla" has been applied by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[29] to the silver coins of Nahapana who issued them for his Kushāṇa overlord Kujula Kadphises. But Senart has explained "Kushāṇamūla" as "expenses of outside life."

Suvarṇa:

Rapson makes Kshaharata Nahapana who ruled over Ujjain, Western Maharashtra etc. a subordinate ruler under the Kushāṇas because one of the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapana contains, according to him, the important information that the rate of exchange between a Kārshāpaṇa and a Suvarṇa was as 1 to 35, which is to be taken as applicable to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushāṇas, the standard of which was apparently that of Roman Aurei (catalogue of Andhra coins, P. CLXXXV). It is not definite, however, that Suvarṇa represents the gold currency of the Kushāṇas, mentioned here, for the term was known long before the advent of the Kushāṇas in India. Even the Guptas called their gold coins "dināras" which began as imitations of late Kushāṇa coinage.

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[27] Chakravarty, I. H. Q. XV, p. 73.

[28] Chakravarty, Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 98-100. Nasik Cave Inscription: "...data cānena akshaya-nīvi-Kahāpana-Sahasrani trini 3000 samghasa catudisasa ye imasmim lone vasamtanam bhabisamti civaraka Kuśāṇamūle ca".

[29] Carm. Lect. 2nd series, p. 205.

Nānaka:

Another coin-denomination, Nānaka, referred to in Yājñavalkya-Smriti is supposed to have come into use under the Kushāṇas. On some gold coins of Kanishka, appears a draped goddess with the legend 'Nana'. The commentator on Yājñavalkya-Smriti says that 'Nanaka' denotes coins with "Nana" as their cognisance (Nanaṅka tanka). The Kushāṇa coins up to the time of Vāsudeva had 'Nana' as one of their devices.

Kedāra:

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[30] quotes from the Kāsikākāra a passage which refers to three kinds of "Rupya" or coined money: Dināra, Kedāra and Kārshāpaṇa. We are already familiar with Dināra and Karshapaṇa. Dr. Bhandarkar connects the "Kedāra" of the Kāsikākāra with 'Kidara' of the Little Yuechi or Kidara-Kushāṇa coins. According to him, the 'Kidara' is a coin-denomination named after the Kidara dynasty.

The weight of the Kushāṇa gold money after Vāsudeva remained very near the Imperial monetary standard. But gradually a decline followed in the standard, as the quality of the metal deteriorated more and more.

Scarcity of Silver Coins: *Bi-metallism*:

The metrology of the silver coins of the Kushāṇa dynasty calls for a few remarks. The single silver coin of Wema Kadphises preserved in the British Museum weighs 56.5 grains only. Cunningham suggests that this piece was intended for the equivalent of Roman silver denarius[31]. Whitehead is inclined to regard it in the nature of a proof piece[32]. Three silver coins of "Bust of King and Nike" type have been discovered by Marshall in Sirkap[33]. They belong to one of the Kadphises group of kings. However, 56.5 grains is the weight much near 58 grains which is the weight of the drachm of Indian standard. Again 56.5 grains is much below 66 grains which is the weight of drachm of Attic standard.

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[30] Carmichael Lectures, second series, p. 205.

The Kushāṇas introduced bi-metallism in their currency, issuing coins both in gold and copper. Silver was rarely used. A silver coin of Kanishka, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, having "Oesho" on the reverse was published in ASIAR, 1925-26. One coin of Huvishka with Oesho and Nana on the reverse belongs to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS, XXIV, p. 384). A silver coin of Huvishka having Sun-god on the reverse has been published (JNSI, II, p. 113). Later on twelve silver coins belonging to Vima, Kaniska and Kaneshko were published by Altekar. But Altekar believed that all these silver coins except the British Museum specimen, were forgeries from moulds. (JNSI, II, pp. 34-40). Recently two silver coins of Huvishka weighing about 32 grains and having Nana and Oesho on the reverse, published by Dr. Narain, (JNSI, XXII, 1960, pp. 100) are considered as genuine.

Weight-standard of Copper coins:

Copper coins were issued in large numbers by the Kushāṇa rulers, with variations in their weight. The weight of "Herakles" type of coins of Kujula Kadphises ranges from 42 to 130 grains, his "Augustus head" type weighs 46 grains and his "Bull and Camel" type of coins weigh from 67 to 167 grains. Kadphises II's "King standing at altar and Śiva" type of coins weigh from 59 to 260 grains. Kanishka's 'Mihira' type weighs from 64 to 128 grains, "Mao" type is 260 grains, 'Athsho' type varies from 64 to 260 grains, 'Oada' type varies from 65 to 260 grains. 'Nana' type varies from 30.5 grains to 130 grains, and again from 130 grains to 260 grains, 'Oesho' type varies from 70 grains to 130 grains and again from 130 to 260 grains. Huvishka's 'Mihira' type weighs 260 grains, 'Mao' type weighs 260 grains; 'Nana' type weighs 260 grains. 'Heracles' type weighs from 170 to 189 grains and again from 189 to 250 grains. Vāsudeva's coin with "Vasu" written in Brahmi weighs 54.5 grains. 'Oesho' type weighs 130 grains and "Ardoksho" type weighs 120 grains.

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[31] N. Chron, 1892, p. 70.

[32] ASIAR, 1912-13, pp. 51-52.

[33] P. M. C. p. 174.

The unit of copper coinage in ancient India was called "Pana" and according to Manu its weight was like Suvarṇas (Gold coins), 144 grains, or 16 mashas of 5 ratis each, that is, 80 ratis. It is usually assumed that this was the normal weight of the pana. But in the Vinayapiṭaka, Gangāmālajātaka and Vasishtha, Gautama and Usava's works, we find references to 'pana' of 20 mashas of 5 ratis each i.e. 100 ratis only. It would appear, therefore, that the copper 'pana' in the period before the Christian era was 25% heavier than the one mentioned by Manu. Nor does the metrology referred to by Manu appear to have supplanted the earlier "Pana" of 20 mashas, for it is mentioned by Nārada also. The weight of the panas might sometimes have been even heavier. Several pieces struck by the Kushāṇas have been discovered weighing from 240 to 260 grains, i. e. about 26 to 28 māshas. The Agni Purāṇa refers to a 'pana' of 24 māshas.

From the study of the copper coins of the Kushāṇas it becomes clear that these may be divided into three classes on the basis of average weights.

(a) Coins weighing 260 grains—one pana of 28 māshas.
(b) Coins weighing 130 grains— ½ pana of 14 māshas.
(c) Coins weighing 65 grains— ¼ pana of 7 māshas.

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Variations in weight in each division of these coins are generally explained in some cases as due to carelessness on the part of the mint-authority.

In the period before the Kushāṇa invasion of North-West India the silver coinage sharply deteriorated in quality. The tetradrachms of good silver were succeeded by coins with the same obverse and reverse types and of the same general appearance but struck in copper and base billion at the end of the reigns of Hermaeus and Azes II respectively[34]. From this Mac Dowall[35] concludes that the copper and billion coins were the lineal successors of the earlier silver tetradrachms and drachms, intended to represent the same denomination in a debased form, and hence they may be described as "copper tetradrachms".

Mac Dowall's theory regarding the copper weight-standard followed by the Kushāṇas may be discussed in some details. As the Kushāṇas, after their occupation of Kabul, imitated the general form and weight-standard of the existing currency in that territory, the denomination of the copper coins with the joint names of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises issued in Kabul should be regarded as "copper tetradrachms." But the large copper coins of Wema Kadphises weighing 260 grains (17 gms), as mentioned above, followed the weight standard different from that of the copper tetradrachms of Hermaeus and Azes II. The Yue-chi copper coins were the lineal successors of the earlier silver tetradrachms struck by the Indo-Greek rulers in Bactria following the Attic standard. The Yue-chi, after the occupation of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, imitated the silver tetradrachms and drachms, but gradually degenerated first into base silver and finally into copper[36]. The Yue-chi coin series, some of which followed the prototype of Heliocles' coinage, were debased in form but retained the weight standard and the same obverse and reverse types of the original silver tetradrachms. Hence, they may be regarded as "copper tetradrachms" struck to the Attic standard. The copper denominations of Vima, which had been known as large, middle and small, should be classified into tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms struck on the Attic weight standard. During the period of Kushāṇa rule between Kadphises II and Vāsudeva I, the weight of the copper tetradrachms was gradually reduced. Kanishka slightly reduced the weight of the copper tetradrachms and added a hemidrachm to the range of the copper denominations. Huvishka followed the weight-standard of Kanishka, in his earliest issues, striking copper tetradrachm of 15-16 grammes and continuing to use the symbol used by Kanishka (*). But sudsequently he reduced the weight of his copper tetradrachms to 11-12 grammes in the later issues that are distinguished by a distinctive form of symbol (°*). Thus numismatically the copper coinage of Huvishka falls into two distinct chronological groups which might represent the coinages of two distinct kings. But the absence of any coinage in the name of another king between the two groups of Huvishka's coins suggests that there were probably two stages in the issues of a single king. The copper coins of Vāsudeva are struck to an even lower standard of 9-10 grammes. Neither Huvishka nor Vāsudeva struck the regular fractional denomination that Wema and Kanishka had done. But their coinage was extensively copied in unofficial series of widely varying quality and weight.

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[34] A. Simonetta, "A new Eassy on the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas", East and West, IX, pp. 168ff.

[35] JNSI, XXII, 1960, p. 69-70.

[36] Cunningham, Coin of the Indo-Scythians and the Kushāṇas, pp. 92ff.

An analysis of the traditional Indian weight-standard as previously attempted by us, may be found to offer a reasonable basis for explaining possible sub-divisions and multiples of a standard which can be equated with that followed in the Kushāṇa copper coinage. But the historical connection which Mac Dowall has tried to establish between the Kushāṇa coinage and the earlier currencies in Kabul and Bactria gives a more or less a definite ground for suggesting that the earlier silver tetradrachms of Attic standard actually in use may have served as the proto-type of the big-sized copper coins of Wema Kadphises of about the same weight.

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* Please see symbol chart.

The Kushāṇas may be given the credit for adjusting the weight of their currency to the changing ratio between gold and copper.[9] Perhaps, the value was determined by gold standard which came into vogue from the time of Wema Kadphises. The gradual reduction in the intrinsic value of gold in their coinage and the progressive reduction of the weight of their copper tetradrachms may be considered as the monetary policy of the Imperial Kushāṇas designed to solve some economic problems faced by them.

CHAPTER VIII

LEGENDS AND SYMBOLS ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

Of coins issued by Kanishka and his successors the name and titles of the king appear on the obverse with the name of the deity on the reverse. The script used by them on their coins was Greek. On the other hand, the coinage of the Kadphises group has bi-scriptualism as its characteristic feature in imitation of their Greek and Parthian predecessors, the king's name with titles being given in Greek script on the obverse with the name and titles of the king in Kharoshṭhī script on the reverse.

Legends on the coins of the Kadphises group of kings:

Greek legends found on the obverse of Kadphises I's coins are of the following varieties:—

(A) BAΣIΛEΩΣΣTHP□ΣΣY EPMAIOY[1] (Basileos Sterossu Ermaiou). The legend has been read by Dr. D. C. Sircar[2] as "Basileus Soteros Ermaiou" i.e. '(Coin) of King Hermaios, the saviour.' Previously "SU" was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name, Hermaios. A conjectural explanation was given by taking the syllable to stand for ΣUΥξUṅS i.e. "Kinsman" of Hermaeus, by the marriage of the Greek king's daughter with the Kushāṇa monarch.[3]

(B) K□Z□YΛ□Y KAΔϕIZ□Y K□P ⊏NA[4] (Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshonou). The meaning of the legend is: "(coin) of Kozolo Kadphises, the Kushāṇa".

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[1] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, I.

[2] Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 108, N 3.

[3] N. Chron. 1892. pp. 40ff.

[4] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 3, 4.

(C) XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛA KAΔAϕEΣ[5] (Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes), i.e "(coin) of Kozola Kadaphes, the Yavuga (leader) of the Kushāṇas."

(D) NIIYY □H(*)ΔNYI, ΠMTHYIY, or BYΠNCI BYΠNEIN ⊏ for BA [I Λ EI BA [I Λ EI. (Basilei)[6]. This seems to be a blundered and illegible legend.

In the Greek script employed in the above mentioned coin-legends following peculiarities are to be noticed: —

(a) The use of square omicron (□)[7] instead of a circular one (O) which is normally found on the coins of the Greeks and the Scythians.

(b) The use of 'V'[8] which stands for capital Upsilon (γ).

(c) The appearance of the box-bracket pattern of sigma (⊏)[9].

(d) The use of the square Phi (*)[10] on some coins.

(e) Appearance of Nu (N) in a retrograde direction (*)[11] on some coins.

(f) Use of double omicrons (00)[12] in place of small omega (ω).

Kharoshṭhī legends found on Kujula Kadphises' coins are to be classified: —

(A) Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramaṭhidasa:[13] The language is Prākrit, which stands for Sanskrit: "Kujula Kasasya Kushāṇa Yavugasya Dharmasthitasya" meaning "(coin) of Kujula-Kasa, the leader of the Kushāṇas, who is devoted to religion".

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[5] B. M. C., XXV, 5.

[6] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XIV. 9, 10, 12.

[7] P. M. C. I, Pl, XVII, Coin No. 8.

[8] B. M. C., Pl. XXV, 3, 4.

[9] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 1.

[10] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 3,

[11] B. M. C. XXV, 4.

[12] P. M. C. 1 Pl. XVII, 24.

[13] N. Chron. 1892 Pl. XIV, 3.

* See chart.

(B) Khushanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphsa Sachadhramaṭhidasa[14]—This Prākrit Kadphises' legend stands for Sanakrit "Kushāṇasya Yavugasya Kujula Kaphsasya satyadharmasthitasya" which means "(coin of Kujula Kaphsha, the leader of the Kushāṇas, who is devoted to true religion".

(C) Maharajasa rajarajasa devaputrasa (?) Kujula-Kara-Kapsasa[15], which stands for Sanskrit "Mahārājasya rājārājasya devaputrasya Kujula Kara Kapsasya" meaning "(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapsa, great king, king of kings, son of Heaven (?)".

(D) Kujula-Kara Kapsasa maharayasa rayatirayasa[16], that is, in Sanskrit, "Kujula Kara Kapasya mahārājasya rājātirājasya" which means "(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, great king, king of kings".

(E) Maharayasa mahatasa Kushana-Kujula-Kaphsa[17], that is, in Sanskrit: "Mahārājasya mahataḥ Kushāṇa-Kujula-Kaphasya", which means "(coin) of Kujula Kara Kapa, the great Kushāṇa, the great king".

(F) Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphsa[18], that is, in Sanskrit, "Mahārājasya rājātirājasya Kujula Kaphasya", which means "(coin) of Kujula Kapa, great king, king of kings".

In the Kharoshṭhī script[19] used on Kadphises I's coins the following peculiarities are found :—

(a) The use of a type of the letter 'U' in which the downstroke indicating the letter 'U' is a short line going upwards (*)[20].

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[14] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 5.

[15] N. Chron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XIV, 9.

[16] Ibid, Pl. XIV, 10

[17] Ibid, Pl. XIV, 11.

[18] N. Cron. XII, 3rd series, Pl. XIV, 12.

[19] C. C. Dasgupta, Development of Kharoshṭhī Script, pp. 139-152, 329-333.

[20] B. M. C. XXV, 5.

* See chart.

(b) The U-stroke with the lettter 'Ja' is expressed in two different manners : (i) a curved line attached to the foot of the letter on the left (*)[21], (ii) a complete curve attached to the foot of the letter 'Ja' on the left (*).

(c) The letter 'TH' is expressed in an older form. The vowel is attached to the letter in this case, for example, 'THI' (*)[22].

(d) The U-stroke attached to the letter 'YA' in the form of a curved line attached to the left foot of the letter (*)[23].

(e) The letter 'VU' found on coins is of the old type (J)[24].

(f) The type of 'SA' is also an old one (*)[25].

Thus almost all the Kharoshṭhī letters maintain their old type with slight modifications here and there.

Different forms of the name of Kadphises I are given in these legends: Kujula Kadphizes, Kujula Kasa, Kujula Kadaphes, Kujula Kaphsa, Kujula-Kara-Kaphsa. The titles and designations applied to the king are: Kushana Yavuga (Koshansu Zaoou), rajatiraja, Maharaja, mahān (nom. of mahataḥ), dharmasthita, and satyadharmasthita. The reading of the title 'devaputra' by Cunningham as shown elsewhere is doubtful.

Greek legends to be read on the coins of Wema Kadphises are:—

(A) BACIΛEϒC OOHMO KAΔϕICHC (Basileus Ooemo Kadphises) i.e. "(coin) of king Wema Kadphises"[27]

(B) BACIΛEϒC BACIΛEωN CωTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAΔ(*)ICHC (Basileus Basileon Soter

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21 B. M. C. XXV, 1.
22 B. M. C. XXV, 2.
23 B. M. C. XXV, 5.
24 B. M.C. XXV, 3.
25 B. M.C. XXV, 5.
26 B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
* See chart.

Megas Ooemo Kadphises), i. e. "(coin) of Wema Kadphises, the great king of kings[27], the Saviour".

Reference may be made in this connection to coins of the "Nameless King" also which give the Greek legend: "Basileus Basileon Soter Megas" with no mention of the name of the king who issued them.

The peculiarities of the alphabet exhibited in the above legends may be briefly noted below:

(a) The use of lunate sigma (C)[28] in place of capital sigma (Σ),

(b) small epsilon (ɛ)[29] in place of capital epsilon (E),

(c) small omega (ω)[30] instead of capital omega (Ω),

(d) the appearance of eta in a peculiar form (*) on some coins[31],

(e) the use of double omicrons (OO)[32] for omega (ω), and

(f) the appearance of peculiar form (*)[33] of Upsilon on some coins.

Thus a tendency towards using small letters instead of capital ones is manifest in the coinage of Kadphises II.

The Greek script used in legends on 'Soter Megas' coins shows the following characteristics: —

(a) The use ot small epsilon (ɛ)[34],

(b) the placing of NU (N) in a ratrograde direction (*)[35],

(c) the use of box-bracket ([ )[36] type of sigma,

(d) the appearance of two forms of Omicrons[37]: ω and (*)

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[27] Ibid, 12.

[28] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 31.

[29] Ibid, 36.

[30] Ibid.

[31] This is a corrupt form.

[32] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 36.

[33] It is a corrupt form.

[34] B. M. C. Pl. XXIV, 1.

[35] Ibid.

[36] B. M. C. XXIV, 2.

[37] Ibid, 2, 3.

* See chart.

The following Kharoshṭhī legends are supplied by the coins of Wema Kadphises :—

(A) Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Hima Katphisasa tradata,[38] that is, in Sanskrit, "Mahārājasya rājātirājasya Sarvalokeśvarasya Maheśvarasya Vima Kaṭphisasya trātuḥ" which means "(coin) of the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, devotee of Maheśvara, Wema Kadphises, the defender".

On the coins of the 'Nameless King' the Kharoshṭhī legend is : Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tradatasa or tratarasa.

The peculiarities of the Kharoshṭhī script[39] as noticed in the above coin-legends are : —

(a) The expression of letter 'GA' (*)[40] in the same manner as in the Scythian period,
(b) use of the old type of 'JA' (γ)[41],
(c) use of a peculiar form of an old type of 'MA' (*)[42],
(d) Appearance of an additional form of old type 'MA' (*)[43],
(e) use of an old type of 'LA' attached with vowel 'O' on some coins (*)[44],
(f) appearance of 'PA' with two ligatures i.e. ppha (*)[45],
(g) a compound letter found with the initial 'RA' and ending with 'VA' (*)[46] the main peculiarity of which is the formation of a curve on the left lower side.

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[38] B. M. C. Pl. XXV, 6-12.
[39] Dasgupta, Dev. Kh. Script, pp. 139-52, 329-33.
[40] B. M. C. XXV, II.
[41] Ibid, 7.
[42] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 31.
[43] Ibid.
[44] B. M.C. XXV, 7.
[45] P. M. C. I., pl. XVII, 36.
[46] P. M. C. I, Pl.XVII, 33.
* See Kharosthi Script chart.

(h) appearance, for the first time, of the letter 'SVA' (*) in which the 'VA'[47] is indicated by curving the right vertical line.

The form of Kadphises II's name found on his coins is Ooema Kadphises in Greek and Vima Katphisa in Kharoshṭhī. The titles of the king used on the coins are: 'Basileus Basileon Soter Megas' in Greek and 'Maharaja, rajatiraja, sarva-loga-iśvara, Maheśvara, trata' in Kharoshṭhī.

Legends on the coins of Kanishka group of kings:

The legends, both on the obverse and the reverse, of the coins of Kanishka and his successors, are inscribed only in Greek script. The obverse legends are found both in Greek and Persian languages (Khotanese Śaka, according to Konow).

The obverse-legends in Greek have the two following forms on Kanishka's coins :—

(A) BACIΛεYC BACIΛεωN KANHPKOY[48], that is, Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou. The legend means: "(coin) of Kanishka, King of Kings".

(B) ρAONANO ρAO KANHρKI KOρANO,[49] that is, Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno. The legend means: "Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, the King of Kings". "Shāonāno" is the same as old Persian "Kshāyathiyānam Kshāyathiyā", modern Persian, "Shāhān Shāh, Indian "Shāhānushāhi".

On the obverse of Huvishka's coins is found only the 'B' type of Greek legend: ρAONANO ρAO OOHρKI KOρANO[50] that is, Shāonāno Shāo Ooeshki Koshāno. The meaning of the legend is: "Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of kings". On some gold coins the name of Huvishka is found in the form of "Ooeshko"[51] instead of "Ooeshki".

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[47] Ibid, 31.

[48] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, 1, 2, 3.

[49] Ibid, 4-18.

[50] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 8-24, Pl. XXVIII, 1-32, Pl. XXIX, 1-7.

[51] B. M. C. Pl. XXVIII, 10.

* Please see Script chart.

The same form of legend is also found on the coins of Vāsudeva: ρAONANO ρAO BAZO⊿HO KOρANO[52], that is, Shāonāno Shāo Bāzodeo Koshāno. The legend means: "Bazodeo (Vāsudeva), the Kushāṇa, the great King of Kings".

On the reverse are found the names of Greek, Persian and Indian deities in Greek script.

On the coins of Kanishka appear the legends: OHρO (OESHO: Bhaveśa)[53], CAKAMANA BO⊿⊿O (Sakamana Boddo: Śākyamuni Buddha), AθρO (Athsho), MIIPO, MIYPO, MIOPO (Mihira), NANA, NANAIA, NANAρAO (Nana, Nanaia, Nanashao), OPΛA΀ NO (Orlagno). ϕAPPO (Pharro), HΛIOΣ (Elios), OA⊿O (Oado), ΛOOPACπO (Looraspo), CAΛHNH (Salene), AP⊿OXρO (Ardoksho) etc.

On the coins of Huvishka appear the following legends: SKAN⊿O (Skanda), KOMAPO (Kumāra), BIZA΀O (Bizago i. e. Viśākha), MAACHNO (Mahāsena), OHρO (Oesho), AθρO (Athsho), AP△OXρO (Ardoksho), MANAOBA΀O (Manaobago), MAO (Mao), ANIO (Anio), MIIPO, MIOPO (Muro, Mioro), NANAρAO (Nanashao), OANIN△A (Oaninda), ρAOPHOPO (Shaoreoro), ϕAPPO (Pharro), CAPA(*)O (Sarapo) etc. On a single coin in the Indian Museum is found the Brāhmī legend "GANEŚO".

On the coins of Vāsudeva occur: OHρO and Nana.

The peculiarities of the Greek script used on the coins of the Kanishka group are the following:—

(a) The use of lunate sigma C[54],

(b) Doric sigma ρ[55] which is equivalent to 'Sh',

(e) Small omega ω[56],

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[52] P. M. C. I, Pl. XIX, Coin No. 209.

[53] According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Oesho is equivalent to Vrisha signifying "Vrishāṅka" i. e, One whose symbol is bull, i. e. Śiva, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 142, N. 6.

[54] B. M. C. Pl. XXVI, I.

[55] Ibid, 4. [56] Ibid, 1.

* See chart.

(d) Small epilon ε[57],

(e) representation of alpha (A) in peculiar forms ΔΔ[58]

(f) appearance of eta (H) in a peculiar form (*)[59]

(g) the use of Nu (N) in the form like * [60], and *

(h) the use of double omicrons (OO)[61] to indicate omega (ω).

It would not be out of place here to refer to the peculiar features of the Greek script in the Kushāṇa coin-legends of the Greeks, the Śakas and the Parthians[62]. On the coins of Greek king Strato II is found lunate sigma, on the coins of Zoilus small omega, on the coins of Nicias box-bracket sigma, and a peculiar form of omega (*). On the coins of the Śaka King Spalirises occur the lunate sigma, box-bracket sigma, square omicron, a peculiar form of omega (*) and also rho (P) signifying 'Sh'. On the coins of the Parthian king Gondopharnes are found small epsilon, lunate sigma, square omicron, square phi (*), and a special type of omega (*). On the coins of Abdagases are found small epsilon, square omicron, lunate sigma, box-bracket sigma and emall omega. Small epsilon, lunate sigma and small omega are common on the coins of Orthagnes, Pacores, Arsakes Dikaios; Arsakes Theos, and also on the satrapal coins of Zeionises, Nahapana, and Chashtana. On the coins of Zeionises and Nahapana is found the representation of 'Nu' in a retrograde direction (*). Small epsilon and box-bracket sigma are used on the coins of the Parthian kings. The changes in the lettering of the legends, as mentioned above, are in keeping with the relative chronological position assigned to the different foreign dynasties involved.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid, 1. 2, 3, 4, 7.

[59] Ibid, 4, Pl. XXVII, 1, 2, 3, 4

[60] Ibid, Pl. XXVIII, 24, 25, 26.

[61] Ibid, Pl. XXVII, 8-14.

[62] JRAS, 1913, p. 640.

* See chart.

Legends on the coins of Vāsudeva I's successors:

On the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II is maintained the use of Greek on both obverse and reverse. The legends on the coins are much corrupt and debased. The legends, when complete, give the names and titles of Kanishka and Vāsudeva respectively.

The obverse legend is either ρAONANO ρAO KANHρKI KOρANO, that is, Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshāno, or ρAONANO ρAO BAZO△HO KOρANO, that is, Shāo nāno Shāo Bāzodeo Koshāno. The reverse legend is either AP⊿OXρO (Ardoksho) or OHρO (Oesho).

On a unique copper coin and on a few gold coins is found the Brāhmī legend "Vasu" vertically represented. This is possibly the beginning of the use of Brāhmī legends on Kushāṇa coins. This particular coin is attributed to Vāsudeva II, the last Kushāṇa king of the Imperial dynasty.

On the obverse of the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II are found some stray Brāhmī letters on the left, near the king's right foot, in the middle, between the king's feet, and on the right, outside the king's spear or trident. The question relating to the interpretation of these letters has been discussed in our accounts of the coins of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II in chapter IV. The syllables on the right are probably the initial tetters of the names of the satraps or governors by whom the coins were issued in the names of their sovereign rulers. The other two syllables are probably initial letters of the names of the mint-towns and provinces concerned.

After Vāsudeva II are found two classes of coins, one of which is characterised by the presence of Brāhmī legends both on the obverse and the reverse, and the other by Greek legends (corrupt and illegible) also both on the obverse and the reverse. Coins bearing Brāhmī are generally come across in the Punjab region. These coins belong to the Scythian tribes like the Shākas, the Shilādas and the Gadaharas, and also to the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. Coins bearing corrupt Greek legends in what is known as the Kushāṇa cursive script are generally met with in the Balkh and Kabul region. They belong to the Kushano-Sasanian group.

Hiuen Tsang describes the language of the Tu-ho-lo as being somewhat different from that of other countries like Kāpiśa and Bamian, and also Tsao-kuta of which the capital was Ghazni. He describes their alphabet as consisting of twenty-five letters which were written horizontally from left to right.[63] As the Greek alphabet has twenty-four letters, the addition of ρ or sh completes the number of twenty-five assigned by Hiuen Tsang to the alphabet of the Tochari or the Kushāṇas.[64]

As is identifiable with "sh" the letter ρ occurring on Kushāṇa coins, the legends KANHρKI and OOHρKI are to be read as Kaneshki (Kanishka) and OOeshki (Huvishka) respectively, by taking ρ as equivalent to sh, not Kanerki[65] and Oerkî,[66] as used to be read previously. The identity of KANHρKI and OOHρKI of our coins with the kings, Kanishka and Huvishka of Indian tradition was a brilliant discovery of Prinsep. The identification of KOρANO with the ethnic title "Kushāṇa" was suggested by Cunningham. To these may be added the obverse-legends like ρAO (Shao) and ρAONANOρAO (Shāonāno Shāo). From the reverse of some Kushāṇa coins the name of a deity ρAOPHOPO has been found. Stein has identified it with the name "Shaoreoro".

The letter representing "sh" was read for a long time as Greek rho (P). But, in fact, the shape of the letter (ρ) which is known as Dorian sigma is clearly different from that of Greek rho (P). Stein[67] found out that the letter 'ρ', a modified form of rho, represents the sound "sh" and a variant of the Doric sibilan "san." The identity of 'sh' with the

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63 Beal, Si-yu-ki-i, pp. 38, 50; ii, p. 283.

64 N. Chron. 3rd series, p. 114.

65 Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 357.

66 Ibid, p. 373.

67 IA, XVII, 1888, p. 97-98.

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character 'San' rests on palaeographic evidence.[68] The earliest form of "San" is M, found in Dorian inscriptions. Coins of Mesembria and an inscription of Halicarnassus present us with a later form of "San" in the shape of T. As a numeral it appears in Greek papyri of Ptolemaic times in the form of ω or T. From this form is derived the oldest miniscule form of Sampi, ρ. The almost identical form of the 'sh' sign found on the Kushāṇa coins can be derived with equal ease. This 'sh' character may be seen clearly on the coins represented on the Babylonian and Oriental Records.

Stein has put forward the theory that the "sh" sign of the Kushāṇa coinage was a revival of the obsolete Greek letter 'San' (which had the value of 'sh'). Because the oldest miniscule form of 'San' resembles, though apparently it is not identical with the ρ sign on the Kushāṇa coinage.

Stein's theory has raised a good deal of discussion. Fleet thinks that the Kharoshṭhī "Sa" (ρ) would supply a more probable origin of the "sh" sign found on the Kushāṇa coinage. It has been suggested again that the Aramaic 'tsade' has strong claims on grounds of pronunciation and shape[69]. Other scholars suggest that the 'ρ' sign han not the value 'sh' at all but the value of 'rho'[70]. Thomas has taken the view which resembles Cunningham's[71] that the 'sh' sign 'ρ' was derived from the rho (P) and has said that after the fifth century "San" only survived as a numeral[72].

W. W. Tarn[73] supports the view that on Kushāṇa coinage 'ρ' represents 'San'. But he thinks that was it not a revival of 'San'. According to him, the 'San' was not entirely obsolete. It was obsolete in Classical literature. But it was used in music. Tarn cites a passage from Aristonexus (end of the fourth century B. C.) who frequently remarked on the tendency of a singer to make the substitution of San (sh) for sigma. It was through music that the people of the Greek cities of the East learnt the use of 'San'.

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[68] Taylor, Alphabet II, p. 95.

[69] JRAS, 1913, p. 642.

[70] J. Kirste, Orobazes, Wien SB CLXXXII, 1918, Abh, 2.

[71] N. Chron. 1892, p. 54.

[72] JRAS, 1913, pp. 1016, 1034.

[73] GBI, p. 509.

Kennedy[75] thinks that an antiquated character such as the Doric 'San', which is found with the value of 'sh' on the coins of Kanishka series, survived in Charcerene after the Greek language had died out. In Kanishka's time, he says, the letter "ρ", San, must have been in common use in Charcerene. It was doubtless from this country that Kanishka's die-engravers got it.

Kirste's view that ρ has got the value of rho cannot be accepted on numismatic grounds. The Greek legend KANHρKI found on coins is to be identified with Kanishka, whose name is well-known in Indian tradition. On some coins of the Śaka King Spalirises, his name in Greek form begins usually with sigma. But sometimes the first letter of the name is either ρ or form similar to capital rho (P)[76]. The first instance of a sign which looks like rho having the value of 'sh' appears on the coins of the Kushāṇa Miaus. The conclusion, therefore, is that 'ρ' represents the Doric 'San'. Hiuen Tsang's statement that the alphabets of the Kushāṇas are twenty-five in number is confirmed when the 'ρ' or sh sign is added to the twenty-four Greek letters used by the Kushāṇas on their coins. It is difficult to uphold the view that the 'ρ' sign is derived from rho (P) in view of the points mentioned above.

Legends on Kushano-Sassanian coinage:

From the point of view of scripts used in legends, the Kushano-Sassanian coins may be classified into two series. On the obverse of the first series is found the legend containing the names of the kings with the titles "Shāonāno Shāo Koshāho" in Kushāṇa cursive script (corrupt Greek legend).

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74 JRAS, 1912, p. 1010.

75 CII, p. XLI; N. Chron. 1890, p. 108.

On the reverse of these coins appears the name of the deity "Oesho" in Kushāṇa cursive script. In the second series of the Kushano-Sassanian coins, the Pahlavi legend is introduced with the Greek legend. The names of the Sassanian kings like Hormizd, Shapur and Varahran are found in Greek with the titles "Shāonāno-Shāo Koshāṇo" and "Bago" (divine). In Pahlavi legend are found the titles, "Mazdism bagi Laba-Kushan Malkan Malka" which means "The Mazdean divine, King of kings of the Laba-Kushāṇas".

It seems from the close study of the titles held by the Sassanian rulers "King of the Kushāṇas, King of kings of the Kushāṇas" that they did not drive the Kushāṇas out of Bactria and Afghanistan, but were contented with an acknowledgment of their suzerainty in those regions.

In the corrupt Greek legends of the Kushano-Sassanian coins, it is to be noticed that both the letters, A (alpha) and △ (delta) have become almost (omicron), and that N (nu) and H (eta) have assumed forms as (*) and (*) which are often wrongly used one for the other. The doric sigma 'ρ' (sh), the beta 'B' and rho (P) remain unchanged. A comparison of the large gold coins shows that one half of the legend comprising the royal titles has been continued, more or less imperfectly, on all of them. But as other half of the legend shows no trace of the name of Bazdeo, it is clear that the rude characters must represent some other names. These new names are read as Hormizd, Varahran, and Shapur etc.

Legends on the coins of some Scythian tribes:

The series of gold and copper coins bearing the names of some tribes, like Shāka, Shilāda and Gaḍahara shows the use of Brāhmī legends. R. D. Banerji associates the Gaḍahara coinage with the coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas.

These coins still present the remains of Greek legends in the margin, but the letters are illegible, and seem to be a mere repetition of omicrons, 000. Brāhmī legends appear in two or three places in the field.

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* See chart.

The obverse legends in Brāhmī found on the coins of the Scythian tribes are supposed to contain the names of the tribes—Shāka, Shilāda and Gaḍahara—and also the names of their kings as shown in the course of our account of the coinage of the Scythian tribes in Chapter IV. Traces of Greek legends found on the reverse of those coins possibly contain the name of "Throned Ardoksho" represented there. The use of Brāhmī on these coins strongly supports the Indian association of the issuers of those coins. The mode of representing the legends is a striking feature. The Brāhmī legends are found vertically represented. This feature may indicate some Chinese influence upon these coins.

Legends on the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coins:

The Brāhmī legends are found on both the obverse and the reverse of the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage. The name of 'Kidāra' is found on the obverse with names of chiefs who probably had some relation with the dynasty founded by Kidāra, on the reverse. The names have already been discussed in Chapter IV. The palaeographical features of the Brāhmī legends presented on the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage are very interesting. They show the characteristics of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabets[76]. On Sarvayaśa's coin is found the four-headed 'mātrā' upon 'Ka' of 'Kidāra.' This is the Eastern variety of the Gupta Brāhmī vowel 'ī'. The form of the 'Ṣa' in 'Śrī Ṣahi' on the obverse of some gold coins resembles the Eastern variety of the Brāhmī letter of the Gupta period. The Brāhmī legend on the reverse of the coins bearing the legend "Kidāra-Kushāṇa Kshuṇa", was read by R. D. Banerji as 'Sala' with the 'La' of the Eastern Gupta variety. Under the right arm of the standing figure on the obverse of the "Coin No.3 of the Little Yue-chi Chiefs" in the Indian Museum a name 'Śanagi' or 'Sanadhi' was read by R. D. Banerji. The 'i' in the above word strongly resembles the long 'i' of the Eastern Gupta variety.

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[76] JASB (NS) Vol. 4, 1909, p. 91-92.

The coins of the Gaḍahara tribe were probably issued in the time of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. Because, 'Ga' in Gaḍahara coinage resembles 'Ga' of the fifth century A. D.

So far we have only dealt with the gold coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas. Brāhmī legends[77] also occur on their silver coins. For example, on the obverse of the coins of Kidāra and his successor Piro, are found the legends "Kidāra Kushāṇa Shā" and "Shāhi Piro" respectively. On the coins of the provincial governors of the Kidāra-Kushāṇa overlords, are found their names in Brāhmī. Varo Shāhi (obverse), Buddhabala (reverse), Bhāsa (obverse), Sadhani (reverse). On a copper coin of this series is obtained the name of "Kshatrapa Tarika" in Brāhmī.

Some silver drachms of the Kidāra-Kushāṇa series use Pahlavi legends e. g. coins of Piro type II, Varahran and some provincial governors like Piroch. Traces of Pahlavi legends on these coins obviously lead to the conclusion that their issuers had to acknowledge for sometime the political influence of the Sassanians.

Symbols on Kushāṇa coinage:

Cunningham laid emphasis on a striking point of difference between the coinages of the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. That is the total absence of monograms on Kushāṇa money, while they are found in large numbers on the coins of the Śakas either in Greek or in Kharoshṭhī characters.

It is true that two or more letters made into one design are not found on the Kushāṇa coins. One, two or more letters, either in the Kharoshṭhī or Brāhmī script are found on early and later Kushāṇa coinage. The value of those letters is unknown. It may be surmised that they probably give the names of the mint-cities.

Not only a few letters or mono-syllables but a number of symbols are found on Kushāṇa coins. An analysis shows frequently association of a symbol with particular monarchs. Hence the symbols are to be named according to their associations. For example, the Nandipāda symbol is found on the coins of Wema Kadphises who was a devotee of Śiva. This symbol is supposed to be a compound of the foot-print of Nandī, mount of Śiva, and Śiva's attribute Triśūla (trident). It occurs rarely on some coins of Kujula Karȃ Kadphises and Zeionises. The different forms of one genetic symbol: (*) occur on the coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. They may have inspired some Gupta coin-symbols. On grounds of association a symbol is called, for example, Kadphises symbol (*), Soter Megas symbol (*), Huvishka symbol (*), or Vāsudeva symbol (*) etc., as the case may be.

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[77] JPASB, (NS) XLVII, 1937, pp. 39n-45n.

We may now proceed to a study of the symbols and monograms to be found on the coins of each individual Kushāṇa monarch.

Coins of Kujula Kadphises :

On the reverse of the "Bust of Hermaios and Herakles" type are detected the Kharoshṭhī letters[78]: O, Saṁ, bu and pa. On the obverse of "Bull and Camel"[79] type are found the Nandipāda symbol and also the Kharoshṭhī letter 'pu' and on the reverse Kharoshṭhī syllable "Sasaṁ" and a Kharoshṭhī letter 'pa'. On the reverse of some coins of "Diademed bust and Enthroned King or *Zeus*" type, is found a symbol like a Kharoshṭhī letter "tra"[80]. On the reverse of "King (Buddha ?) and *Zeus*" type is found the Kharoshṭhī letter 'pu' to left in the field.

The occurrence of the Kharoshṭhi letter 'pa' or 'pu' on the coins of Kadphises I is noteworthy. Probably it indicates the name of Pushkalāvatī, one of the mint-cities of Kushāṇa times.

[78] P. M. C. I, Pl. XVII, 8-11.

[79] Ibid. 16, 18.

[80] Ibid, 24, 25.

* Please see symbol chart.

Coins of Wema Kadphises:

The two symbols: one Nandīpāda (*) and the other found on all the coins of Kadphises II and therefore known as Kadphises symbol (*) are to be noted in this connection.

On the obverse of the coins of "Enthroned King and Śiva" type occurs the Kadphises symbol[81] with a Nandīpāda symbol on the reverse". On the reverse of "Half length figure and Śiva type[82] those two symbols are found side by side. On the reverse of "Head in frame and trident with battle-axe" type[83] are placed the Kadphises and the Nandīpāda symbols side by side. The obverse of the coins of "King at altar and Śiva"[84] type bears the Kadphises symbol and the reverse the Nandīpāda symbol.

Coins of the Nameless King:

On both the obverse and the reverse of these coins is found the symbol (*), generally known as the Sofer Megas symbol.

Coins of Kanishka :

On the reverse of all the coins of Kanishka[85] is found the Kadphises symbol. Only a variant of the Kadphises symbol (*) is found on the reverse of the coins of "King at altar and Śiva" type. The appearance of the device of Wema Kadphises on the coins of Kanishka may indicate that Kanishka continued the line to which Wema Kadphises belonged.

Coins of Huvishka :

The symbol which is common on Huvishka's coin is a slightly modified form of the Kadphises symbol: (*) This

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81 Ibid, 31.
82 Ibid, No. 32.
83 P. M. C. I Pl. XVII, No. 34.
84 Ibid, No. 36.
85 Ibid, Nos. 53, 61, 65-68, 75, 83, 92, 97, 106, 114, 115.
* Please see symbol chart.

is known as Huvishka symbol. Variants of the same symbol are found on his coins.

On the reverse of the coins of "Half length figure of King and deity" type are found the Huvishka symbol and other forms of the same like (*)[86] (*)[87] (*)[88]. The Huvishka symbol also stands on the reverse of the coins of the "Elephant-rider" type. The other form of the Huvishka symbol (*)[89] is also found on the coins of the above mentioned type. On some coins is found the Nandīpāda symbol[90] by the side of the Huvishka symbol.

On some coins of "King reclining on couch" type occur the Huvishka symbol by the side of the Kadphises symbol. On the reverse of the coins of "Cross-legged king and deity" type is found the Kadphises symbol[91]. On the reverse of the coins of "King seated with both arms raised" type occurs a variant of the Huvishka symbol.

The difference between the Kadphises symbol and the Huvishka symbol lies in a horizontal bar placed across the stem in the Huvishka symbol, which is absent in the Kadphises symbol.

Coins of Vāsudeva :

The symbol which is known as the Vāsudeva symbol (*) obtains the horizontal bar across the stem, but is differentiated as to its lower portion. There is no evidence as to the relationship of Vāsudeva to Huvishka.

"King at altar and Śiva" type of gold coins: The Vāsudeva symbol[92] invariably appears on the reverse of these coins preserved in the British Museum. On some Indian

[86] P. M. C. I, Kushana coin No. 116.

[87] I. M. C. I, Huvishka's coin No. 1, 2, 4, 9-15, 19, 20.

[88] Ibid, No. 8.

[89] P. M. C. I, Kushana coin No. 150, 158.

[90] B. M. C. Huvishka's coin No. 159.

[91] IMC. I Huvishka's coin No. 36.

[92] B. M. C. Pl. XXIX, 8-11.

* Please see symbol chart.

Museum specimens is noticed a slight differentiation in the lower part of the device: (*) The obverse of some Punjab Museum specimens has the Nandīpāda symbol, while on the reverse of some of them is found a symbol which seems to be a slight modification of the Huvishka symbol (*)[93], which is come across on some coins of Huvishka also.

"King at altar and Śiva" type of copper coins: Some of these coins bear both on the obverse and reverse the Huvishka symbol.[94] On the reverse of some coins again is to be seen a variant of the Vāsudeva symbol (*)[95].

Coins of Vāsudeva I's successors

On the reverse of the coins of Kanishka III are found Brāhmī letters 'Tha', 'Ru' etc. and a variant of the Vāsudeva symbol: (*) (I.M.C. Pl VII, 165) and another symbol (*) (I.M.C. I. Pl VII, 176).

A unique specimen bearing the legend "Vasu" on the obverse has a "Vāsudeva symbol" on the reverse.

On the reverse of the coins of the Shākas and the Shilādas, is found the various forms of the Vāsudeva symbol. The symbol (*) (I.M.C.I., Pl VII 162) is found on the coins of Shāka Chiefs Sita and Śana and the symbol (*) (I.M.C.I., Pl VII, 165) is found on the coins of Shilāda Chief Bacharna.

Some of these coins of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas show on the reverse the following symbols:—(a) The symbol (*) on the coins of the "Little Yue-chi Chief" Bhāsvan (I.M.C.I. Coin of "Little Yue chi Chief" No. 4), (b) A variant of "Vāsudeva symbol" (*) on some coins of Śrī Kritavīrya. (Ibid. No. 17).

The early Kushano-Sassanian coins:

Different forms of the "Vāsudeva symbol" appear on their reverse with the name of Vāsudeva. Those forms of the Vāsudeva symbol are (*) (*) (I.M.C. Pl VII, 162, 165).

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[93] P. M. C. I., Kushāṇa coin No. 203.

[94] B. M. C. Vāsudeva's coin No. 215.

[95] P. M. C. I. Kushāṇa coin No. 215.

* Please see symbol chart.

The symbols are also found on the obverse of the coins. On the coins with the name of "Shāonāno Shāo Bāzodeo Koshāṇo", are found the Swastika symbol and the symbol (*)[96], a variant of the Hormazd symbol.

The Swastika symbol (*) is also seen on the obverse of the Kushano-Sassanian coins along with the name of Hormazd, Varahran etc.[97] The Triratna symbol or Dharma chakra symbol[98] is also used sometimes. The Swastika sign is generally found between the king's feet and other symbols to right.

The characteristic symbols[99] of Hormazd and Varahran are (*) and (*) respectively.

The symbols discussed above have been taken by R. B. Whitehead[100] and V. Smith[101] as monograms without adducing any ground. They do not look like any sign formed by one or two recognisable letters. The only exception may be the Kharoshṭhī vowel 'O' found on some coins of Kujula Kadphises. So far other designs are concerned, we fail to find any trace of a letter in them.

It is very difficult to find out the motive behind the representation of symbols on Kushāṇa coins. The symbol of Wema Kadphises is found on the coins of Kanishka. The same symbol (*) is also found on some coins of Huvishka. The symbol goes through transformation and becomes the special symbol of Huviska (*) commonly found on his coins. The characteristic feature of the Huvishka symbol is the horizontal bar which passes through the stem. The Huvishka symbol is also found on some coins of Vāsudeva. Gradually it is transformed into the Vāsudeva symbol (*) (*) (*) which is thus differentiated from the Huvishka symbol in regard to the lower part. The symbols show a trend of development from their original forms to their modifications. On the basis of this finding it may be presumed that Kanishka was the successor of Wema Kadphises, Huvishka the younger son of Kanishka, and Vajheshka, probably the elder son, who has left no coins, may have died a premature death. Huvishka's symbol was a bit different from the symbol of Kadphises and that of Kanishka. The occurrence of the symbol of Kanishka on some coins of Huvishka at least indicates immediacy of succession. Again, the occurrence of the Huvishka symbol on some coins of Vāsudeva I throws light on the relationship between the two.

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[96] I. M. C. I. Kushano-Sassanian coin No. 4.

[97] P. M. C. I. Kushana coin No. 238-41.

[98] N. Chron. XIII, 3rd series Pl. XIII, 3, 4.

[99] Ibid, Pl. XIV.

[100] P. M. C. I, Section on " Kushana coins".

[101] I. M. C. I. Pl. VII.

* Please see symbol chart.

Dr. A. D. H. Bivar[102] has attempted to show that some symbols on Kushāṇa coins may have been significant as hereditary marks, conveying a genealogical notation similar to that of medieval heraldry. The device of Wema Kadphises (*), appearing on the coins of Kanishka, indicates that the latter was probably the heir and the eldest son of the former. Huvishka is thought to have been a younger son of Kanishka and brother of Vajheshka. His device bears a horizontal bar across the stem (*) which may be equivalent of the Cadency marks of English heraldry. Huvishka was followed by Vāsudeva, whose device again contains the horizontal bar (*), but is differentiated as to its lower portion. It might be that Vāsudeva, belonging to the same line, was the younger son of Huvishka, being a second or later son. Bivar's explanation of the changes in the Kushāna coin-symbols of different kings has a bearing on chronology of the Imperial Kushāṇas

However, the symbols appearing on Kushāṇa coinage must be taken, on the whole, as royal insignias or special marks adopted for different purposes by the kings.

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[102] N. Chron. XV 6th series, 1955, p. 204.

* Please see symbol chart.

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The Vāsudeva symbol was copied by the die-engravers of the time of Kanishka III, Vāsudeva II, Shāka-king Sita and the early Sassanian rulers. The imitation of the symbol of Vāsudeva on the coins of his successors points to the fact that the later Great Kushāṇa rulers claimed their descent from the Imperial Kushāṇa family. The occurrence of the same symbols on the coins of the Shākas or of the Indo-Sassanians may be due to imitation, which is not rare in numismatic history.

Symbols generally are interpreted as (a) Mint-marks, (b) Ornaments, (c) Space-filling device (d) Auspicious signs, (e) Monograms, (f) Dates, etc. Any of these interpretations is hardly applicable in the cases of the symbols of the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. There are, however, a few monograms or combinations of letters on the coins of the later Kushāṇas, which stand for mint-marks.

The symbols on the Imperial Kushāṇa issues are very difficult to be explained as dates. The symbols cannot stand for monograms composed of letters. Except a few, like three-pronged symbol, Nandīpāda symbol, Swastika etc. none is known to represent any auspicious or religious mark. The symbols are neither used for the purpose of filling of space, as they seem not to fit coin-designs used. The symbols being basically composed of points, lines and circles could not attain a high standard as decorative designs. Again the symbols cannot possibly be explained as mint-marks. Some of them are common to the Kushāṇa and the Gupta coinage. The Imperial Kushāṇas and the Guptas were not contemporaries.

The symbols may be explained as personal 'devices' adopted by the different kings to serve two-fold purpose: firstly, to mark ownership, and secondly, to distinguish one's own coinage from others. The word "device" is used above to designate the "tangha" or mark of ownership characteristic of Central Asian nomads in ancient times and later. Its origin was probably as a cattle-brand[103].

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[103] Rostovzeff, The Animal Style in South Russia and China, Ch. IV, N. 2.

CHAPTER IX

PROVENANCE OF THE KUSHĀṆA COINS

It is necessary to make a brief survey of provenance of the coins of the Kushāṇas in order to find out whether these can afford any proof of the extent of their territories or sphere of influence. An attempt is made below to offer an account of the find places of the Kushāṇa coins arranged more or less on a geographical basis, to be followed by a discussion of its utility in solving the various issues connected with the history of the Kushāṇas.

(1) *North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan*:

(a) Jalalabad, Afghanistan: In the *Ahin Posh Stupa*,[1] with gold coins of Domitian, Trajan and Sabina (wife of Hadrian), gold coins of Kadphises II, Kanishka and Huvishka.

(b) *Begram*,[2] the Kohistan of Kabul: About one thousand six hundred and forty seven coins both of the Kadphises and the Kanishka group.

(c) Yusufzai Country: A few specimens of Kujula Kadphises, twice as many as of Wema Kadphises, and nearly equal numbers of Kanishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva and the Nameless King (Soter Megas).

(d) Peshawar: "About one thousand coins of Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva."[4]

(e) *Excavations at Sahri Bahlol*,[5] Peshawar District: One silver Sassanian coin (Bust and fire-altar type), one copper coin of Soter Megas ("Bust and Horseman" type), one unique silver coin of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas bearing Sassanian type.

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[1] PASB, 1879, pp. 122-35.

[2] JASB, V, pp. 266-68; III pp. 159-75.

[3] CASR, V, p. 6.

[4] JASB, 1881, p. 184.

[5] ASIAR, 1909-10, pp. 49-50.

(f) Mardan Tahsil in Peshawar District[6]: A hoard consisting of five hundred and thirty-three copper coins of the Kushāṇas "discovered in a mound between Turbandi and Nandua."

(2) *Punjab*:

(a) *Manikiwala Tope* No. 1 (Rawal Pindi district)[7]: Coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, mixed with one coin of Yaśovarman of Kanauj and a number of silver Sassano-Arabian coins.

(b) *Manikiwala Tope* No. 2[8]: Eight copper coins of Kujula, Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, four gold coins of Kanishka, seven worn silver Denari of the Republican period (1st century B.C.).

(c) Kutanwala Pind[9] (E. Punjab), situated on the high road from Shah Dheri via Nila to Kalar Khar: Eightynine coins, from Vonones and Maues down to Vāsudeva.

(d) Pathankot[10] (E. Punjab): Numerous coins of Zoilus, Gondopharnes, Kanishka and Huvishka.

(e) Khaira Dih[11]: Large numbers of coins of Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka.

(f) Ransia[12]: Five hundred copper coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka in a pot.

(g) Kanhiara[13]: Two coins of Wema Kadphises, one of Kanishka, and one of Vāsudeva.

(h) Kalka-Kasauli Road (Patiala)[14]: Three hundred and eighty-two copper coins of Wema Kadphises, with forty copper coins of Kanishka.

[6] ASIAR, 1925-26, p. 167.
[7] Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I, pp. 94-102.
[8] Ibid, pp. 142-50.
[9] CASR V. p. 93.
[10] CASR XIV, p. 116.
[11] CASR, XXII, p. 108.
[12] CASR, XIV, p. 48.
[13] CASR, V, p. 176.
[14] PASB, 1895, p. 2.

(i) Padham[15]: Twenty coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and eleven coins of Indo-Sassanian period.

(j) Sunit (West of Ludhiwana):[16] Two hundred and sixtynine coins of the "earlier Indo-Scythians" and one hundred and thirty-two of the "later Indo-Scythians."

(k) Shakarkot (Shahpur district)[17]: Six gold coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva.

(l) Mound near Machrata (Sheikhpur district)[18]: "Two gold coins of the Little-Yue-chi along with the coins of Chandra Gupta II and Skanda Gupta."

(m) Excavations in Taxila[19] (Rawalpindi district): Two thousand five hundred and twenty-two copper coins of Kadphises I from Sirkap, four silver coins of Kadphises from Sirkap, sixty-four copper coins of Kadphises II, thirty-seven from Sirkap and twenty-seven from other sites, one hundred and one specimens of Soter Megas, twelve from Sirkap, eighty-six from other sites and three from the Dharmarajika, one hundred and fifty-seven copper coins of Kanishka I, thirty-nine from Sirkap and one hundred and eighteen from the Buddhist Settlements (44 from Dharmarajika, 14 each from Jandial and Kalawan, 12 each from Mohra Moradu and Sirsukh, 10 from Chir Tope B, C, and D, 8 from Jaulian, 3 from Pippala and 1 from Giri), seventy-three copper coins of Huvishka (44 from Dharmarajika, 4 from Sirkap, 5 from Jaulian, 3 each from Jandial and Kalawan, 2 each from Chir Tope B and C, Giri and Kholay, and 1 each from Mahal, Bhallar, Mohra Moradu, Pindora, Ghai and Bhamala), one thousand nine hundred and four copper coins of Vāsudeva I (27 from Sirkap, 8 from Jandial, 11 from Sirsukh, 1 each from Bhir Mound and Hathial, 1334 from the Dharmarajika, 253 from Chir Tope B, 165 from Kalawan, 49 from Mohra Moradu, 36 from Jaulian, 5 from Bhamala, 3 each from Giri and Pippala, 2 each from Chir Tope A and D, Bhallar and Badalpur), one gold coin of Bacharna from the Bhamala sites, two gold coins of Bhadra from the Dharmarajika, thirty copper coins of the unidentified rulers of the later Kushana period (11 from Jaulian, 6 each from Dharmarajika and Sirsukh, 3 each from Kalawan and Sirkap, and one from Bhamala), four gold and twenty-three electron pieces of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas with 2 gold coins of Bhadra and Chandra Gupta II and 3 silver coins of the White Huns from the Dharmarajika and one silver specie of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas from Mohra Moradu and three hundred Sassanian coins, one-third of which can be identified, 63 of Shapur II (A. D. 309-79), 32 of Shapur III (A.D. 383-8), 1 of Ardeshir I, 3 of Hormazd, a governor of Shapur, 1 of Varahran II, 3 of Varahran IV and 1 of Khusra II.

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[15] CASR, XI, p. 38.

[16] CASR, XIV, p. 65.

[17] ASIAR. 1934-35, p. 91.

[18] ASIAR, 1930-34, p. 309,

[19] ASIAR, 1912-13, p. 51-52; 1924-25, p. 33-34; 1915-16, p. 33-34; 1929-30, pp. 83-85; Marshall, Taxila, Vol. II, pp. 785-91.

(3) *United Provinces*:

(a) *Mathurā*[20]: Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.

(b) *Excavations at Hastināpur*[21] (near Delhi): Imitation coins of Vāsudeva, six coins of "King at altar and Śiva with bull" type, four coins of "King standing and enthroned goddess" type, yielded by the excavations at Hastināpur and other explorations in upper Ganges and Sutlej basins in 1950-52.

(c) *Harshingpur*[22] (*Meerut District*): A hoard of twenty-two gold coins, Kushāṇa and Indo-Sassanian.

(d) *Excavations at Kāsia*[23] (Gorakhpur district): Twelve copper coins, four of Kadphises II and eight of Kanishka.

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[20] CASR, XX, p, 37.

[21] Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), Nos. 10. 11, 1954-55, p. 104.

[22] Indian Archaeology, 1953-54. p. 39.

[23] ASIAR, 104-5, p. 52.

(e) *Excavations at Bhitā*[24] (near Allahabad): Three copper coins of Kadphises II, 1 clay cast, six copper coins of Kanishka and eighteen copper coins of Huvishka.

(f) *Excavations at Sāhet Māhet*[25]: Most of the coins discovered belong to Vāsudeva, one being of Kanishka, two of Huvishka and one of Āyumitra of Ayodhya.

(g) Sankisa[26]: Coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.

(4) *Central Provinces (M.P.)*:

(a) Sānchi[27] (near Bhopal): Large numbers of Kushāṇa copper coins.

(b) *Indo-Khera mound*[28] (Indor): Twenty corroded and defaced "Indo-Scythian" coins, one of Wema Kadphises, one with the "running figure" on the reverse, one of Kanishka, obverse legend obliterated and "Athsho" on the reverse, five of Huvishka with "Bull and Śiva" on the reverse, one with "Elephant-rider", one with "King seated on clouds", two with "king seated sideways", two with "seated female divinity" on the reverse, one apparently of Vāsudeva with obverse legend obliterated, one defaced coin with the Greek legend "Athsho", two copper and six silver "fire altar" coins, two or three much worn coins, with remains of monogram "Kota", two of Sri Pratapa, one silver, one copper and five mixed metal "Varaha drammas" and a few silver and copper "Bull and Horseman" type of coins.

(5) *Orissa*:

(a) *Exacavations at Śiśupālgarh*[29]: Six round copper coins of Kanishka ("king standing and Moon god"), one of Huvishka (Elephant-rider and Sun-god"), four Puri-Kushāṇa coins and one unique gold Roman-Muruṇḍa coin of 3rd century A.D.

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[24] ASIAR, 1911-12, pp. 62-65.

[25] ASIAR, 1907-8, p. 83; 1908-9, p. 33.

[26] CASR, XI, p. 25.

[27] ASIAR, 1934-35, p. 84.

[28] CASR, XII, p. 43-44.

[29] Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), No. 5, 1949, p. 98.

(6) *Nepalese* Tarai:

(a) Bua Dih[30] (Kapilavastu): Large copper coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka.

(7) *Bihar*:

(a) *Excavations at Lauria Nandangarh*[31] (Champaran district): Two copper coins, one of Kanishka ("King at altar and Sun-god"), and one of Huvishka ("Elephant-rider and four-armed Śiva").

(b) Bodh-Gayā find[32]: One talisman bearing the impression of bust of Huvishka as found on the obverse of his coins, with the punch-marked silver coins, buried below the Vajrāsana throne.

(c) *Excavations at Pāṭaliputra* (Patna) (1956)[33]

(i) One talisman bearing a bust of Huvishka on the obverse and goddess Ardochsho on the reverse.

(ii) Ratan Tata excavation (1912-13)[34]: Two gold Kushāṇa coins, one of Vāsudeva I ("King at altar and Śiva with bull" type) and the other of later Kushāṇa type "King at altar and seated Ardoksho".

(iii) Excavations at Kumrahar and Bulandbag[35]: Fortyfive coins of the Kushāṇas, three of Wema Kadphises, twelve of Kanishka and thirty of Huvishka.

(f) *Buxur hoard*[36] (now in the Patna Museum): Three hundred and fifty-four Kushāṇa coins, twenty-three of Wema Kadphises, one hundred and fifty-nine of Kanishka and one hundred and seventy-two of Huvishka.

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[30] CASR, XII, 206.

[31] ASIAR, 1936-37, p. 50.

[32] JNSI, Vol. 20, pp. 1-3.

[33] Ibid.

[34] JNSI, XIII, 1951, pp. 144-47.

[35] JNSI, XIII, 1951, pp. 144-47.

[36] JNSI, XIII, 1951; ASIAR, 1907-8, p. 83; 1908-9, p. 33.

(g) Vaiśāli[37] (Muzaffar district) : Large numbers of Kushāṇa copper coins.

(h) Rānchi district[38] : A gold coin of Huvishka in the Bilvadag Thana and a copper coin of Kanishka in the Karra Thana.

(8) *Bengal*[39]: Three Kushāṇa gold coins were discovered in North Bengal, one from the Mahasthan, Bogra district, which belongs to the Rajshahi museum, the second from Malda belonging to the Cabinet of Mr. Stapleton, the third from Mahasthan acquired by the Indian Museum. The first two are attributed to Vāsudeva and third to Kanishka.

In 1882 a copper coin of Kanishka was found in the Midnapur district[40], West Bengal. In 1890 a base metal coin of Vāsudeva[41] was found in the Murshidabad district and sent to the Asiatic Society. A gold coin of the same king was found in the Bogra district of E. Pakistan in 1909.[42] A large number of copper coins bearing Kushāṇa devices have been recently collected from West Bengal[43].

Not only in India but also outside India, Kushāṇa coins have been found in Chinese Turkestan, Southern Russia and some parts of Afghanistan. Stein found 8 or 10 coins of Kanishka and one of Huvishka in Khotan[44]. Copper coins, as stated by Stein, were not found beyond this area of political control. Gold and silver coins of intrinsic value were found outside. Coins with a mounted figure on one side and portraits on the other were found in Chinese Turkestan. The discovery of coins from the time of Wema to Vāsudeva found by Toprak-Kala excavations shows that Khorezm was under Kushāṇa rule.[44] Grigoriev's excavations have yielded Kushāṇa coins of the post-Vāsudeva I period in Kabadia (Kaikobad Shah) which was contemporary with the Toprak-Kala site. Gregori's excavations at Talibarzu led to the discovery of a culture of the fifth or sixth century A. D. From the site known as Surkh-Kotal[45] archaeological excavations have yielded 16 coins of which 14 belong to the Kushāṇas including 2 of Huvishka. The latest coins found at the site are those of Huvishka. One Kushano-Sassanid coin has also been found. Obviously there is a long gap between the end of Huvishka's reign and the period when the Kushano-Sassanid coin became current in the 3rd century A. D. The importance of the numismatic evidence from Surkh-Kotal (near Baghlan in Afghanistan) has grown with recent discovery of the famous inscription which refers to the building and repair of a temple called Kaneshko Oanindo Bago laggo (that is, the Kanishka victorious—Sanctuary)[46], and also to the year 31 and a certain Nokonzoko, who was probably responsible for the restoration of the temple. If the year 31 is referred to the era started by Kanishka in 78 A. D., then the Surkh-Kotal inscription is to be dated in A. D. 108-9. It appears that the temple was repaired during the reign of Huvishka, whose coins are found in the destruction-level of the temple.

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[37] JNSI. XIII, 1951, pp. 107-8.

[38] ASIAR, 1930-34, p. 312; JASB (NS) XXVIII, 1932, pp. 127-29.

[39] PASB, 1882, p. 113.

[40] JNSI, XIII. 1951, p. 107-8.

[41] Chanda, Gauḍarājamāla, p. 4.

[42] The coins are at the disposal of West Bengal Directorate of Archaeology. No official report has yet been published.

[43] Lists of Stein's Ancient Khotan, Serindia, and Innermost Asia, Hoernle, Extra No. to JASB, Vol. LXX.

A glance at the list of the findspots will show that it is the North-west Frontier Province and the Punjab which provide most of the Kushāṇa coins so far discovered. They come from Kābul and the Peshawar region but not so much as from the Punjab. The findplaces are further comprised in the U. P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. In Eastern India, the find is much smaller than in the Uttar Pradesh. No Kushāṇa coin has yet been found out in Assam, in southern and western India.

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[44] Tolstov's article in Modern Review, December, 1953 and also his article on "Date of Kanishka" submitted for discussion in a seminar held in 1960 under auspices of School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

[45] D. Schnumberger, J. A. 1952, pp. 438 ff; 1954, pp. 161ff; 1955, p. 269.

[46] BSOS, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50-52.

Copper coins were circulated regularly over all the country served by the mint of issue. It might be very extensive. The findspots of copper coins are not in all cases good evidence of the extent of rule. It may be interesting to note that large numbers of copper coins of Kujula Kadphises have been found at Taxila where probably he never ruled[47].

Coins of different Kushāṇa kings are mixed up in most finds in such a fashion that it is not possible to show where each ruled, by arranging his coins separately on a basis of geographical distribution. The findspots have been classified above regionally without drawing any conclusion from them in regard to the extent of the territory that may have been held by any of the sovereigns concerned. But one cannot miss the point that where coins of more than one Kushāṇa king have been found, they occur in a certain order. This may bear some chronological significance. Coins of Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, of Kanishka and Huvishka and those of Huvishka and Vāsudeva are found together in regular combinations. Exceptions to this rule occur in the case of Bengal where coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva have been found without Huvishka. It is very difficult to decide from the evidence of the findspots alone whether a particular area was lost or gained by a king.

As already stated, Kushāṇa coins are mostly concentrated in north-western parts of India. This may suggest not only prolonged association of the Kushāṇas with these regions but also that the centre of their power must have been situated in their neighbourhood, from which they proceeded to extend their territory in the east.

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[47] C. H. I. I, p. 584; Marshall, ASI, 1929-30, p. 57.

Eastern areas were ruled most probably by satraps appointed by their Kushāṇa masters. The Buxur hoard shows that the Kushāṇa copper coins were quite common in Bihar not only down to the end of the reign of Huvishka but even for about fifty years more. Copper coins do not travel long. If they are fairly numerous at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra, and if a hoard is found as at Buxur containing coins extremely worn out, the conclusion may be drawn that Magadha was one of the early conquests of the Kushāṇas. The basis of Chinese tradition referring to the wars of Kanishka with the kings of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra may, therefore, be correct.

Numismatic evidences gleaned from the excavations at Taxila and Begram throw some light on the chronology of the Kushāṇas and the date of the Sassanian invasion of India.

On a comparative study of the stratification of Sirkap and whatever little has been done at Sirsukh in Taxila[48], though not complete in itself, it has appeared to many scholars that the Kadphises group of kings preceded the Kanishka group, that the continuity in sequence from Kujula to Vāsudeva I was definitely unbroken, that the coins of Shapur II having been found in great numbers indicated an event of political subjugation, although the earliest Sassanian coins found in Taxila belongs to Ardeshir I. Gold coins of the successors of Vāsudeva I have not been recovered from Taxila, where, however, debased copies of copper pieces bearing the name of Vāsudeva were found in large numbers. There are, moreover, signs of hurried burial of Vāsudeva's coins in some of the monasteries of Taxila. It seems that sometime during the reign of the successors of Vāsudeva I, i. e. during the period 200 to 244 A. D., the Kushāṇa Taxila suffered an invasion of Ardeshir I, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty (A. D. 226-40).

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[48] J. Marshall, Taxila. 3 Vols, Cambridge, 1951.

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Ghirshman's excavations[49] at Begram have revealed three phases of occupation at the site: Begram I, Begram II and Begram III. In Begram I the coins of the Pahlava kings as well as those of "the first and second Kushāṇa dynasties" have been found. Ghirshman believes that there was a short interruption between Begram I and Begram II, though no clear evidence is available to support his presumption. However, Begram II belonged to the second dynasty under Kanishka. According to Ghirshman, life in Begram II was stopped by a cataclysm, as evidenced by the traces of destruction and fire present in certain buildings. He is of the opinion that the city was ruined by the invasion of the Sassanid King Shapur I, which took place in 244 A.D. Begram II was accordingly abandoned by its inhabitants during a period "probably not longer than 10 to 20 years". Begram III, according to Ghirshman, "presents itself without clear ties with the preceding ones". It gives the impression of a "town abandoned voluntarily by the inhabitants who fled before the conqueror". Among the coins found in Begram III none can be attributed to a date later than the "4th Kushāṇa dynasty" i.e. the Kidāra-Kushāṇas, which probably implies the abandonment of the town during the invasion of the Chionites. Ghirshman does not arrange the coins in Begram in relation to the different strata or phases with which they were connected. Some of the valuable coins, including all the eight coins of Vāsudeva have been left unillustrated. But the list of coins furnished by him, without any attempt at archaeological classification, shows that no coin of Shapur I, or any of the Sassanian kings, were found in Begram. Begram III contains coins of the immediate successors of Vāsudeva I. Thus from the numismatic point of view the archaeology of Begram is not of help in determining whether there was actually a break in the political history of the Kushāṇas. There is no evidence to show that the Kushāṇa kings from Kanishka to Vāsudeva II were divided into three dynasties and that Shapur I was the intruder after Vāsudeva I and before his successors. Begram II presents some traces of destruction by fire, no doubt, but no weapons such as those found in Begram III. It is a historical fact that the Kushāṇa power declined during 201-244 A.D. Ardeshir I made an aggression upon the western parts of the Kushāṇa empire. Probably Begram suffered from a Sassanian invasion in the middle of the third century A.D., but the theory that the Kushāṇa dynasty was ended after Vāsudeva I by Shapur I has not been proved.

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[49] R. Ghirshman, Researches archaeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans etc. pp. 29 ff.

The finds of Roman coins[50] of the first century B.C. to fourth century A.D. in different parts of India are of great importance in connection with the study of the Kushāṇa coinage. The Roman coins are found in all parts of India, sometimes with the Kushāṇa coins, for example, in the Ahin Posh Stupa and the Manikiyala tope mentioned above. The Kushāṇa coins are totally absent in southern India where the Roman coins have been found in abundance. The finds of Roman coins are scanty in Northern India where the Kushāṇa coins are predominant in number. The implications of these facts have been explained in the background of Indo-Roman trade discussed in the previous chapter.

MacDowall has made an application of Bolin's theory[51] in an analysis of the finds of Roman coins in India. The Roman silver coinage was overvalued well above its intrinsic metal value. This enabled the denarii of widely differing weights and silver-content to circulate freely side by side within the territories controlled by the Roman government whereas in territories beyond its frontiers Roman denarii were valued merely for their silver-content. The silver coins of the Republican and Julio-Claudian periods were struck in pure silver. After Nero's reforms iu A.D. 64, the weight of the denarius was reduced by 0.2 grams (1 grain: 0.0648 grams). At the same time its silver content was further reduced by the admixture of between 5% and 10% copper. Under later emperors the silver content was reduced yet further. Even after Nero's reform, pre-reform denarii continued to circulate side by side with the post-reform denarii as a result of the policy of over-valuation held by the Roman government. Post-reform denarii were never exported to India in any number at all. Of eighteen known finds of Roman silver coins from India, with the single exception of the denarius of Hadrian in the hoard of Pakli, all the denarii were minted before 64 A.D[52]. Because, the over-valuation of denarius was not operative in the areas beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire, and the Roman merchants were induced to export pre-reform denarii in making their foreign payments because such denarii contained a greater amount of silver than the post-reform coins. The coins in which payments were made by merchants have been called by MacDowall as "optimum" available denarii. During the Julio-Claudian period when the denarii were all of equally pure silver the optimum denarii would be the newest coins straight from the mint. After reform of 64 A.D. the pre-reform coins as a whole would be the "optimum ones." Among these the least worn coins containing most silver would be the most recent issues of Gaius, Claudius and Nero before 64. The next most valuable group would be those of Augustus and Tiberius. The oldest group which would have lost most weight of silver would be the surviving Republican denarii. The base legionary denarii of Mark Antony were no more intrinsically valuable than the new post-reform denarii. Each of the groups of the pre-reform is expected to have been exported either immediately or shortly after their issue, when they were the "optimum" denarii available, or at a later stage in their life when each group in turn successively became the

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[50] Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), 1946, No. 2.

[51] Bolin, State and currency in the Roman empire to 300 A.D., pp. 51ff.

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[52] MacDowall's paper on "Date of Kanishka" submitted for discussion in the seminar held in 1960 under the auspices of School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

"optimum" available as a result of the reform in 64. Such exportation of denarii of Augustus shortly after A.D. 100 is shown by the evidence of the hoard from Cochin State which contained 11 denarii of Augustus, 2 of Nero Drusus and 2 of Nero together with 12 aurei, 8 of Tiberius, 1 of Claudius, 2 of Nero and 1 of Trajan. Independent evidence of the exportation of Republican denarii well into the first half of the second century A.D. is given by the hoard from Pakli, Hazaribag district (Punjab) which included 8 Republican denarii, 12 of Augustus, 2 of Tiberius, and one of Hadrian (A. D. 117-138).

So far as the Roman aureus is concerned, the reform of Nero in A.D. 64 abruptly reduced its weight from 7.6 to 7.3 gms. Pre-reform aurei were exported after A.D. 64 as the "optimum" aurei available. The fact is clearly shown by the presence of 3 coins of Vespasian with 486 pre-reform aurei in the hoard from Padukotta and 5 aurei of Domitian and 2 of Nerva with 42 pre-reform aurei in the hoard from Kaliyputtur. Apart from the pre-reform aurei, the Roman merchants also exported the heavy aurei of Domitian and Nerva that emulated the pre-reform standard. Besides this, there was no reason to prefer one group of aurei to another for exportation as the 'optimum' coins.

The way MacDowall tries to determine the date of Kanishka with the help of the theory outlined above leaves much doubt about its effectiveness for the solution of the chronological problem. In the Manikiyala Tope,[53] at a depth of 3 ft. M. Court found 4 copper tetradrachms of the Kushāṇas, 1 of Vima Kadphises and 3 of Kanishka, ten feet lower down he discovered 6 copper tetradrachms, 1 of Hermaeus with Kujula Kadphises, 1 of Vima Kadphises and 4 of Kanishka, round a copper urn. A small silver urn in the copper urn contained 7 Roman silver denarii, all of the Republican period, which were worn, and a much smaller gold vessel. The gold vessel enclosed four quarter-dinaras of Kanishka. The circumstances connected with the find show that the deposit was made in the later years of Kanishka. Because, the coins are principally those of Kanishka, those of earlier rulers are represented but there are none of the equally common coins of his successors. The accompanying inscription is of the year 18 which refers to Kanishka. According to MacDowall, the Roman Republican denarii found in the Tope became the "optimum" available silver coins inside the Roman empire during the Principate of Trajan, and were consequently exported during the time of Trajan and his successor Hadrian. But consistently with the theory of MacDowall himself, the Republican denarii should be considered as "Optimum" available silver coins to be assigned to the beginning of the Imperial period of Rome, that is, the reigns of Augustus and his successor Tiberius. They are expected to be exported to India in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, that is, in the middle of the first century A.D. These had surely been in circulation in Indian markets, before their deposit, for a number of years, to explain their worn-out condition. They were deposited in the Manikiyala Tope probably towards the end of the first century A.D. Thus the finds of Roman Republican denarii leave the question of Kanishka's date practically unsolved.

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[53] JASB, 1834, pp. 58ff.

Regarding the Ahin posh Stupa[54] MacDowall's reasoning is deduced from his own view of Kanishka's date. Of the coins found in the Ahin posh Tope 3 were Roman aurei and 17 Kushāṇa dināras. There were 10 dināras of Vima Kadphises, 6 of Kanishka and 1 of Huvishka. Those of Vima were rather worn, those of Kanishka less so, and that of Huvishka seemed to be new in comparison with others. This clearly suggests the sequence of the Kushāṇa rulers and that the deposit was not made earlier than the reign of Huvishka. The Roman aurei were of Domitian, Trajan and Sabina, wife of Hadrian. According to MacDowall, the aureus of Sabina must have been struck after A. D. 128 when her

[54] PASB, 1879, pp.77ff, 122ff and 205ff.

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coinage began and before A.D. 137, the year of her death. Taking the extreme limits, the year of the deposit must fall after A.D. 128. But it is difficult to accept MacDowall's suggestion that the deposit could not have been earlier than c. A.D. 160 as the coin must have been in circulation for sometime before its export which caused its wear and tear. But within ten years from the first issue of Sabina's coin, it might have been exported and deposited with the coin of Huvishka in India as, according to MacDowall's own belief, the Roman gold coins were progressively reduced in weight in course of time. The Roman merchants were always induced to make foreign payments with "optimum available" coins. So it seems that the Ahin posh stupa may be dated in or about A.D. 138 in which case the stand taken by MacDowall in regard to the chronology of the Kushāṇas may have to be changed. MacDowall has made the wear and tear of the coins the criterion of his judgment. But how can it be held as an axiomatic truth that the worn condition of a coin must always mean its old age? Exceptions to this rule are available, Longworth Dames received in his charge a shilling of George III (1760-1820) of 1816 in perfect preservation, and one of Victoria (1837-1901) so worn as to be almost unrecognisable[55].

The findspots of the Kushāṇa coins, as shown above, cannot furnish clear evidence for fixing the limit of either date or territory of a monarch. They may at least be treated as corroborative evidence along with other principal sources of informations like inscriptions.

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[55] J. R. A. S. 1913, p. 959.

CHAPTER X

INDIAN HERITAGE OF FOREIGN NUMISMATIC TRADITIONS

The Kushāṇa coinage inherited the Hellenistic monetary technique from the Indo-Greeks through the Parthians, absorbed the Roman style and execution and became influenced by Indian art and tradition. In execution and design the early Kushāṇa coins are much more elegant and refined than the Indo-Parthian ones. Towards the beginning of the third century A.D. the later Kushāṇa coinage tended towards clumsiness and crudeness in design, though the execution remained clear and precise. Gradually the types and forms are Persianised due to Sassanian contacts.

The die-cutter's art, in the Kushāṇa period, followed the Western style in a perceptible manner. This period saw the rise of two schools of art in India, one in Gandhāra and the other at Mathurā. In Gandhāra a new style of art was created by the efforts of the Hellenistic artisans and Indian artists trained under Graeco-Roman supervision. At Mathurā, an indigenous style of art was produced, representing a continuation of the ancient native tradition of sculpture and architecture. The Gandhāra School of art has been characterised as an eastward expansion of the Hellenistic civilisation mixed with Iranian elements. The figure type of the Kushāṇa coinage shows a blending of foreign influences and Indian art-tradition of the age.

The Kushāṇas, who had first over-run Bactria before they overflowed into India, built up a vast Empire comprising a variety of nationalities[1]. In the Punjab were semi-Asiatic Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Hindus. In Afghanistan and Bactria, besides the remnants of the older Scythian and Iranian settlers, were Greeks, Parthians, and their own countrymen from Central Asia. The cosmopolitan nature of the Empire is reflected in their coinage. It was natural for them to have directly fostered the Western trade which passed through their territory. With the help of the evidence of the Periplus and also the Graeco-Roman materials brought to light by the excavations at Begram[2] and Taxila[3] it may be concluded that the main trade-routes connecting Alexandria, the focus of oriental trade, with Central Asia and China lay through West Pakistan. The Roman Emperors, in view of their hostile relations with the Parthians[4], must have laid stress or friendly contacts with the Kushāṇas in order to maintain their control over Oriental trade and commerce. The Kushāṇas modelled their gold coinage on the weight-standard of the Roman aureus probably to serve the purpose of foreign trade.

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[1] Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 169.

It is quite likely that at some early period of Indo-Roman trade, Roman iconographic patterns were imported by large numbers of technically skilled people familiar with the art of die-cutting who came, together with merchants, over to India from Alexandria[5]. This new import must have reaction upon the Hellenistic art of coinage already inherited by the Kushāṇas from their Indo-Greek predecessors whose style, as shown on their coinage, displayed an extraordinary realism in the portraiture of kings like Demetrius and the decidedly Praxitelean character in delineation of the full-length figures of the deities like Herakles, Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo etc[6]. Different coin-types like Fortuna or Abundantia, Dionysus, Diana, Pallas, Ares-Mars, Janus, three gods in Aedicula, Serapis were added to Greek coin-types like Nike, City-goddesses and others. Moreover, Iranian influence can be detected on the Kushāṇa coinage as well. Innumerable deities were taken from Iranian mythology to be represented

[2] Foucher, Afghanistan, p. 269.

[3] Marshall, Taxila, 3 vols.

[4] Wheeler, Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers, pp. 157 ff.

[5] R. Gobl, JNSI. XXII, 1960, p. 78.

[6] B. M. C. p. 1 viii.

on their coins. Besides, Parthian influence on the bearded busts and 'kings sacrificing at an altar' type of the Kushāṇa coins, cannot be overlooked.

Indianisation in the art of coinage was a progressive factor. This seems to have made some advance in the Kushāṇa period. The Kushāṇa coins represent a curious blending of nationalities and creeds. But their devotion to Indian culture is unmistakably proved by the representation of Śiva (Oesho), his consort Umā (Ommo) and son Kārttikeya (Skanda-Kumāra Viśākha Mahāsena), and also Śākyamuni Buddha (Boddo) on their coins. "Śiva and Bull" and "Enthroned goddess holding cornucopiæ" (Ardoksho or Indian Lakshmī) were among the favourite designs of the Kushāṇas, which are found to have been imitated by Indian kings in later times.

About the fourth century A.D. the Kushāṇa power virtually disappeared and in its place arose the great indigenous dynasty of the Guptas who began with an imitation of some of the Kushāṇa types, viz. "King standing and sacrificing at an altar" and "Enthroned Goddess" and also the "Dināra" standard of the gold coinage of the Kushāṇas. But, gradually, this foreign influence on Indian coinage, both typological and metrological, was eliminating. The process of Indianisation of coinage, at work in the Kushāṇa period, was further accelerated by the rise of the Sassanian power which cut off the earlier communications between the Graeco-Roman world and the East.

The early gold issues of the Guptas closely resemble those of the Later Kushāṇas to whose imperial position they succeeded. The obverse and reverse of the early Imperial Gupta rulers closely imitate the Kushāṇa prototype. The Gupta king is also to be seen wearing the Kushāṇa over-coat and trousers. His name is written perpendicularly under the arm, as on the Later Kushāṇa coinage. The Kushāṇa monograms also reappear with only slight variations.

The Kācha type[7] shows on the obverse king standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace, holding standard surmounted by wheel in left hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand and on the reverse Lakshmī standing to left, wearing loose robe holding in right hand and cornucopiae in left arm with a border of dots and a symbol on left.

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[7] Allan Catalogue of the Gupta coins, p. 15 ff.

The Standard type of Samudragupta is a much closer imitation of the Kushāṇa prototype. It bears on the obverse king standing to left nimbate, wearing, close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings and necklace holding in left hand standard bound with fillet, dropping incense on altar with his right hand and, on left behind altar, is a standard bound with a fillet, surmounted by a Garuḍa facing.

A move to Hinduise the type is shown by the replacement of the Kushāṇa peaked cap by an Indian head-dress and the trident in front of the king by the Garuḍa-standard, the emblem of the new dynasty. The reverse closely follows the characteristic features of the representation of Ardoksho on the Kushāṇa coinage. Goddess[8] (Lakshmī) is represented as seated facing on throne, nimbate, wearing loose robe, necklace and armlets holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiæ in left arm with her feet resting on lotus. There are traces of back of throne on right of most specimens and border of dots with symbols on left and right, and Brāhmī legend, "Parakramah". It should be noted that Ardoksho has been Hinduised by transforming her into the goddess of Lakshmī and resting her feet on lotus. The Greek legend on the Kushāṇa prototype was replaced by Brāhmī one on the Gupta coins. But still the slavish imitation of the Shāka or the later Kushāṇa type disclosed by the Standard type of Samudragupta is established beyond doubt.

The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of coins shows a lesser imitation of the type of the Later Kushāṇa coinage. The obverse shows Chandragupta I standing to left wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-ring and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-standard bound with fillet and with right hand offering an object, which on some coins is clearly a ring, to Kumāradevī who stands on left to right wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress, both nimbate. The reverse shows the seated goddess of the Ardoksho type but on a lion. Goddess[9] (Lakshmī) is shown as nimbate wearing loose robe, seated facing on a lion crouchant to right or to left, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiæ in left arm with her feet resting on lotus. Behind her on left are traces of back of a throne on most specimens, border of dots and symbol on left.

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[8] Ibid, p. 1.

The goddess represented on the reverse, seated on a lion was not unknown to the die-cutters of the Kushāṇa period. On one coin of Huvishka Nana is found seated on a lion. This type is, however, too early to be regarded as the prototype. There is a coin-type of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka III, issued in the 3rd century A. D., which shows the goddess on the reverse seated on a lion[10]. The style in which the goddess is seated on the lion and the way in which she wears the upper garments over her shoulders are both closely similar to the type seen on the coins of Chandra Gupta I. The goddess on this type of Kanishka III is, however, holding a sceptre in her left hand and not a cornucopiæ. It appears that the reverse of the coin type of Chandra Gupta I is modelled partly on the Shāka coin-types and partly on the type of Kanishka III. Cornucopiae in the hand of the goddess is adopted from the former and her mount lion from the latter.

Samudragupta's Standard type is, no doubt, a close imitation of the Kushāṇa prototype. But it was in its turn imitated by some rulers in the Punjab[11] who may have been his feudatories. On a single gold specimen of the Gaḍaharas, appears the legend "Samudra" under king's arm. There is a trident and not a Garuḍadhvaja in front of the king. There is a solitary Brāhmī letter "Sa" near the right foot of the king, as is to be seen on several other coins of this series. Outside the standard or spear there is a perpendicular legend read as Gaḍahara. It may be inferred from the resemblance between the "Samudra"-type of the Gaḍahara coins with the "Standard" type coins of Samudragupta that the Gaḍahara tribe at least acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta monarch and placed his name on their coins[12].

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[9] Allan, Catalogue of Gupta coins, p. 8.

[10] Altekar, Coinage of the Gupta empire, p. 31.

[11] Ibid, p. 46.

The Gupta gold coins at first followed the Kushāṇa weight-standard of 120 grains. The earliest Gupta coins follow this standard of their late Kushāṇa prototypes. The average weight of Samudra Gupta's coins may be shown in the following way: Standard type—118.9 grains (highest 120.6 and 121), Archer type—118.1 grains (highest 120), Chandra Gupta-Kumāradevī type—119 grains (highest 121 and 123) Kācha type—117.6 grains (highest 118), Lyrist type—118.6 grains (highest 120.7 and 120) and aśvamedha type—118.3 grains. These figures agree very well with the weights of the late Kushāṇa coins of the 3rd century A.D., the range of which is from 118 to 122 grains. The Guptas, following the types and standard of the Kushāṇas, seem to have adopted the name "Dinara" by which the Kushāṇa gold coins must have been known. The name "Dinara" is to be traced to the Roman solidus.

The Kushāṇa coinage not only influenced the Imperial Gupta coinage but other coinages of India as well. When the Huṇas conquered the Punjab and Kashmir, they issued a copper currency closely imitating the Kushāṇa proto-type with the "Standing King" on the obverse and the "Seated goddess" on the reverse[13]. This type continued to prevail in Kashmir in a progressively deteriorating form till the end of the Hindu poriod. The "Seated goddess" type also appears on the coins of the Chedis and Gahaḍavalas. Thus, for about a thousand years the figure of Lakshmī continued to be a popular device used by Indian rulers on their coins.

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[12] JASB(NS) IV, 1908, p. 93.

[13] Vākāṭaka-Gupta age, p. 305 ; Rapson, Indian coins, p. 21.

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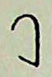
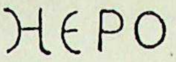
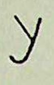
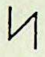
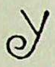
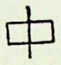
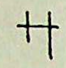
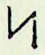
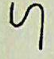
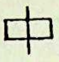
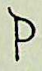
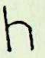
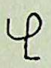
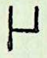
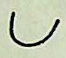
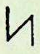
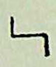
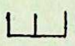
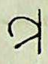
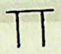
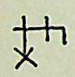
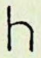
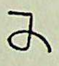
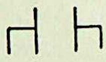
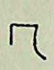
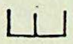
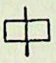
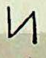
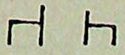
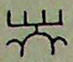
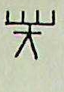
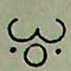
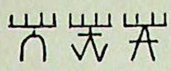
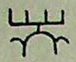
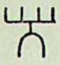
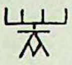
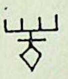
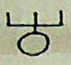
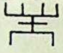
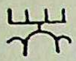
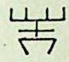
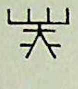
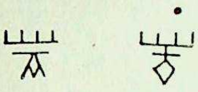
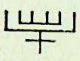
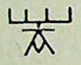
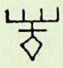
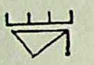
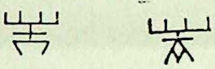
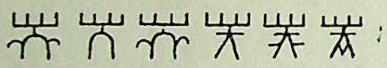
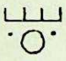
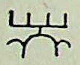
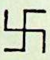
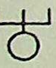
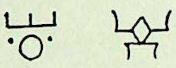
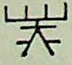
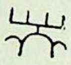
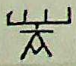
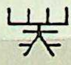
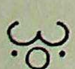
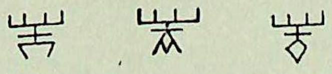
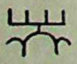
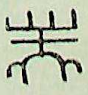
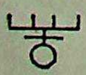
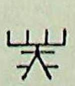
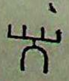
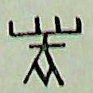
Script Chart*

KHAROSHṬHĪ				GREEK			
Page	Line	Kharoshṭhī Script	Description	Page	Line	Greek script	Description
211	28(a)		U-down-stroke upwards	76	15 vi Type		ZERO (?)
212	(b)		U-stroke to JA	210	4		Retrograde NU
212	5(b)		Do	210	15(d)		Square PHI
212	8(c)		THI	210	16(e)		Retrograde NU
212	10(d)		U-stroke to YA	212	27(B)		Square PHI
212	12(f)		SA	213	13(d)		A peculiar form of ETA
214	12(a)		GA	213	16(f)		A peculiar form of UPSILON
214	14(c)		MA	213	23(b)		Retrograde NU
214	15(d)		A form of MA	213	25(d)		A form of OMICRON
214	16(e)		LA with vowel O	216	21		PĪ
214	17(f)		PPHA	217	3(f)		A peculiar form of ETA
214	19(g)		Compound of RA and VA	217	4(g)		Forms of NU
215	1(h)		SVA	217	11, 13, 17		A peculiar form of OMEGA
				217	17		Square PHI
				217	25		Retrograde NU
				222	18		Forms of ETA

* Please read the scripts given in this chart in connection with the text in the pages and lines referred to here.

Page	Line	Symbols	Description	Page	Line	Symbols	Description
37	29		Kadphises symbol	226	22		A modified form of Kadphises symbol
37	30		Nandīpāda symbol	227	5		Forms of Huvishka symbol
38	10		Kadphises symbol	227	7		A form of Huvishka symbol
40	11	Same as above	,, ,,	227	21		Vāsudeva symbol
42	2	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	228	2		A variant of Vāsudeva symbol
49	24		Soter Megas symbol	228	5		A modified form of Huvishka symbol
49	25		Kadphises symbol	228	10		A variant of Vāsudeva symbol
75	7		Huvishka symbol	228	13		Various forms of Vāsudeva symbol
88	7	Same as above	,, ,,	228	17		A symbol on Kidāra-kushāṇa coins
92	27		Vāsudeva symbol	228	19		Do
105	Foot note		Symbol on coins of "Chhu"	229	2		Forms of Vāsudeva symbol
225	9		Forms of one genetic symbol	229	5		A variant of Hormazd symbol
225	12		Kadphises symbol	229	7		Swastika symbol
225	13		Soter Megas symbol	229	14		Symbols of Hormazd and Varahran
225	13		Huvishka symbol	229	25		Symbol of Wema Kadphises
225	13		Vāsudeva symbol	229	27		Symbol of Huvishka
226	1		Nandīpāda symbol	230	2		Development of Vāsudeva symbol
226	3		Kadphises symbol	230	20		Device of Wema Kadphises
226	14		Soter Megas symbol	230	24		Device of Huvishka
226	17		A variant of Kadphises symbol	230	27		Device of Vāsudeva

* N. B. Please read the symbols given in this chart in connection with the texts in the lines and pages referred to here.

Puri, Baijnath, "Some aspects of the economic life of the Kushana period" IC, XII, 1945.

Paruck, F. D. J. "The Zoroastrian deity 'Ardoshr' or 'Ardvishur' on Indo-Scythian coin" N. S. XXVIII (173), 1917.

Prayag Dayal. "A new Kidara Chief" NS, XLV, p. 322, 1934.

Sankalia, H. D. "A rare gold coin of Huvishka" JNSI, I, p. 9.

Smith, V. A., "Graeco-Roman influences on the civilisation of Ancient India" JASB, LVIII, p. 107.

Tarapore, P. S. "A rare Kushana coin" NS, XLIII, p. 304, 1936.

Thanawala, F. J. "The Zoroastrian Deity 'Ardoshr' or 'Ardvishur' on Indo-Scythian coins" N. S. XXV, p. 149, 1915.

Thomas, F. W. "Devaputra" B. C. Law Volume II.

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KEY TO PLATES

PLATE I (I. M. C. I Pl. XI)

1. Kadphises I. obv. Bust of Hermaios diademed to right, corrupt Greek legend intended for KOPΣANO or KOρANO KOZOUΛO KAΔϕIZOY ; Rev. Herakles standing, facing, r. hand resting on club, lion-skin over l. arm. Kh. legend, -gasa dhramaṭhi-, being part of the full legend, Kujula Kasasa Kushaṇa yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa. Æ round. ch. II. p. 22.

2. Kadphises I. obv. Head of king r. wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns, legend partly legible, KOPCANO. Rev. Armed soldier wearing a Kausia-like helmet, standing r. with spear and circular shield, Kh. legend, Kujula Kaüsa Khusanasa. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 32.

3. Kadphises I. obv. Head to r. diademed resembling that of Augustus, GK. legend, XOPANCY ZAOOY KOŽOΛA KAΔAϕEΣ Rev. King or deity seated to r. on a seat resembling a curule chair, his r. hand extended, in l. field symbol. Kh. legend, Khusanasa yavüasa or yüasa Kujula kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhidasa. Æ round. Ch. II, p. 25-26.

4. Kadphises I. obv. Humped bull, standing to r., symbol illegible, traces of debased GK. legend. Rev. Two-humped camel, standing to r. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 29.

5. Kadphises II. Obv. Upper part of king diademed, to l. emerging from clouds, with high hat or helmet, flames arising from his shoulders, club in r., elephant-goad in l. hand, symbol behind head, legend, BACIΛEYC OOHMO KAΔϕICHC. Rev. Two-armed Śiva, facing, head to l., with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin over

l. arm, grasping combined trident and battle-axe in r. hand, symbols to r. and to l. Kh. legend, maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphisasa tratarasa. *AV* round. Ch. II. p. 40.

6. Kadphises II. Obv. Head of king to r. in raised square frame, legend imperfect. Rev. Trident on stand, with battle-axe attached to l. and club at r. foot, symbols to r. and to l. Kh. legend, maharajasa rajadirajasa Wima Kathphisasa. *AV* round. Ch. II p. 41.

7. Kadphises II. Obv. king diademed wearing tall cap and long coat, standing to l. with r. hand over altar, trident with battle-axe to l. in l. field, club and symbol in r. field, legend, OOHMO KAΔϕICHC BACIΛEYC BACIΛEωN CωTHP MEΓAC. Rev. Two-armed Śiva, standing facing in front of bull standing to r., holding trident in r. hand, symbol to l., Kh. legend, iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphisasa. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 43.

8. Kanishka. Obv. king standing to l., bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers, and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders, grasping in l. hand and holding in r. hand an elephant-goad over altar, circular legend in Gk. script and Persian language, ρAONANO ρAO KANHρKI KOρANO. Rev. Bearded fire-god, standing to l., diademed, clad in long gown and robe, holding fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in l. hand, which rests on hip, flames rising from his shoulders, symbol to l., legend to r. AΘρO *AV* round. Ch. III. pp. 58, 60.

9. Kanishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Four-armed Śiva, standing facing with head to l. holding in upper r. hand Vajra or thunderbolt, in lower r. hand a water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand nothing and with lower l. hand on hip. Antelope or goat on its hind legs in r. field, symbol., legend, r. OHρO. *AV.* round. Ch. III. p. 62.

10. Kanishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. War-god, helmeted and diademed, standing to r., grasping spear in r. hand, sword at side, symbol r., legend, l. OPΛAΓNO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 62.

11. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend, BACIΛEYC BACIΛEωN KANHρKOY. Rev. Sun-god, standing to l. defaced, symbol l. legend, r., HΛIOΣ. Æ round Ch. III. p. 64.

Plate II (I.M.C. I Pl. XII)

1. Kanishka. Obv. King standing at altar, to l. with Gk. legend BACIΛEYC BACIΛEωN KANHρKOY (as on No. 11, Pl. I). Rev. Goddess, standing to r. holding sceptre surmounted by horse's head in r. hand, symbol to r., legend almost defaced, NANAIA. Æ round Ch. III. p. 64.

2. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend illegible. Rev. Sun-god, nimbate, and radiate, standing l., r. hand extended, l. hand on sword at side, symbol, legend, MIOPO. Æ round Ch. III p. 65.

3. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend; PAO KANHρKI. Rev. Goddess to r., holding sceptre surmounted by horse's head, symbol, legend: NANA. Æ round Ch. III. p. 65-66.

4. Kanishka. Obv. Similar, legend almost illegible. Rev. Wind-god, running fast to l., with loose hair and both hands raised, holding up his robe floating in the wind, symbol, legend to r. OAΔO. Æ round Ch. III p. 66.

6. Kanishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Buddha, nimbate, facing, in preaching attitude, symbol., reading of the legend similar to B. M. C. Pl. XXVII, 2. Æ round Ch. III. p. 65.

7. Huvishka. Obv. Bust C with sceptre, legend, PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KO. Rev. Robbed goddess, standing to r., holding cornucopiae in l. hand, symbol r., legend, l., APΔOXρO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 78.

8. Huvishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. War-god standing, facing, clad in waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in r. hand standard surmounted by a bird, and with l. hand resting on sword at his side, symbol, l., legend, r., MAACHNO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 80.

9. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, with elephant-goad. Rev. Four-armed moon-god, seated on throne, head r., crescent behind shoulders, feet on footstool, holding in upper l. hand sceptre and in lower l. hand callipers, the only r. hand shown rests on his hip, symbol, r., legend, l., MANAO BA, r. ΓO. *AV* round Ch. III. p. 78.

10. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, traces of legend. Rev. Two-armed moon-god, standing l., wearing tunic, crescent behind shoulders, wreath or fillet in r. hand, l. hand on sword at side, symbol, l., r. MAO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 75.

11. Huvishka. Obv. Bust C, with elephant-goad, partly legible legend, NANO ρAO OOH—1 KO ρA. Rev. God in voluminous drapery, standing, facing, holding wreath in r. hand, and with l. hand on hip, symbol, l., legend, r. MAO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 78-79.

12. Huvishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Draped Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, standing l., r. hand extended, l. on sword at side, symbol, l., legend, r. MIIPO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 79.

13. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, legend. Rev. Helmeted goddess Nike, standing, holding out wreath or fillet in r. hand and carrying a trophy in l., symbol, r., legend, l. OANΔO, i. e. OANINΔA of other specimens. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 77.

14. Huvishka. Obv. Bust C, with sceptre, legend legible, ρAONANO CO...KI KOρ. Rev. Four-armed Śiva, l., three-faced, standing facing, wearing waist-cloth, and holding in upper r. hand thunderbolt, in lower r. hand water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand

trident, and with lower l. hand resting on club, symbol, l., legend OHρA. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 79-80.

15. Huvishka. Obv. Bust B, complete legend. Rev. Fire-god, standing r., nimbate, wearing tunic and cloak, r. hand extended, holding fire, sword at side, with l. hand resting on it, symbol, l., legend. r. ϕAPPO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 77.

Plate III (I. M. C. I Pl. XIII)

1. Huvishka. Obv. King diademed riding elephant r., with sceptre in r. hand, goad in l. hand, legend. ρAONANO ρAO OOHρKE KOρANO. Rev. Mood-god standing l., with crescent behind shoulders, symbol, l., legend, r. MAO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 83.
2. Huvishka. Obv. Similar. Rev. Figure of Athsho (fire-god), with wreath and tongs, but legend, r. HOΛ, symbol, l. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 83.
3. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, corrupt legend. Rev. Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, symbol, l., legend, r. MIOPO. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 84.
4. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, legend almost illegible. Rev. Archer, standing r., holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards, no symbol, legend in Brāhmī characters, Gaṇeśa. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 84.
5. Huvishka. Obv. King facing, seated cross-legged on cushions holding sceptre in l. hand, r. hand on hip, Gk. legend, ρAONANO ρAO OOHρKE KOρANO. Rev. God of fire to l. with wreath and tongs, no symbol, legend, r. AθρO. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 85.
6. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, corrupt legend. Rev. Moon-god l., legend, r. MAO. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 85.
7. Huvishka. Obv. Similar, blurred legend, ρAO, being double-struck on Kh. legend, jasa. Rev. Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, wearing sword, l., symbol, l., legend, r. MIIPO. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 86.

8. Vāsudeva. Obv. King standing l., with r. hand over altar, trident in l. hand, another trident with ribbons above altar, sword at King's side, Gk. legend, ρAONANO ρAO BAZO△HO KOρANO. Rev. Two-armed Śiva standing, facing, holding noose (Pāśa) in r. hand, trident in l. hand. Behind him, bull standing l., symbol, l., legend, r. OHρO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 93-94.

9. Vāsudeva. Obv. Similar. Rev. Śiva and bull to l., symbol, r., legend lost. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 95.

10. Vāsudeva. Obv. Similar, legend partly legible. Rev. Throned figure of goddess holding fillet in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. hand, no symbol or legend. On other specimens legend is AP△OXρO. Æ round. Ch. III. p. 95.

11. Vasu. Obv. King l., at altar, wearing coat and pointed cap, long sceptre adorned with ribbons in l. hand, trident with ribbons over altar, Br. legend, vertically under l. arm, Vasu, vi between king's feet. Rev. Throned goddess, facing holding cornucopiae, symbol, l., corrupt Gk. legend, O△O△ for AP△OXPO. *AV* round. Ch. III. p. 95.

Plate IV (I.M.C. I Pl. XIV)

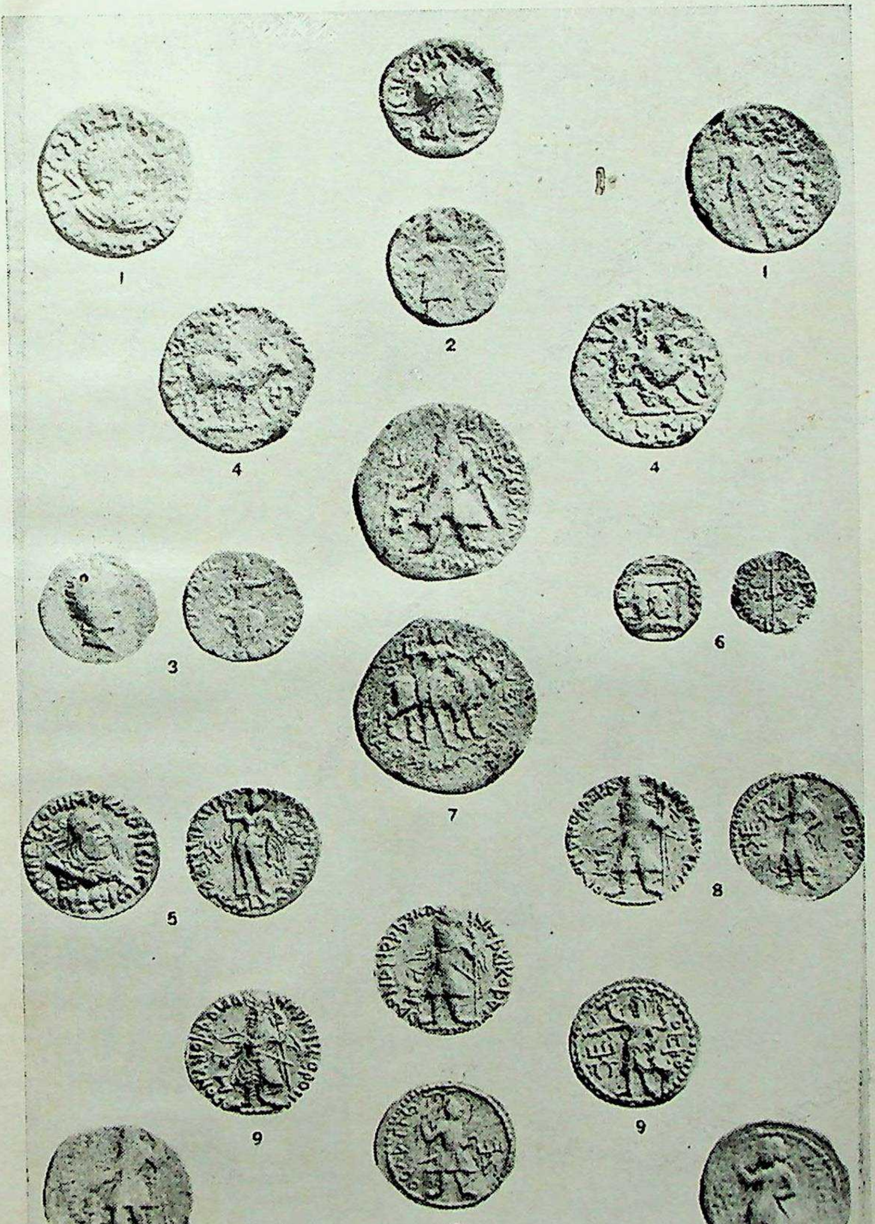
1. Kaneshko. Obv. King l. at altar, Gk. legend, ρAO NANO ρAO KANHρKO, Br, characters in the field, r. 'phri', between feet 'gho', l. 'ga'. Rev. Śiva with bull, symbol, legend, GHρO. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 98-99.

2. Kaneshko. Obv. Similar, Br. characters, between feet 'vi', r. 'chhu'. Rev. Throned goddess, symbol and traces of legend. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 98-99.

3. Vāsudeva. Obv. Similar to the Kaneshko coins, OAO legible, Br. characters, r. 'aum̐', between feet 'thā'. Rev. Śiva and bull, Br. character, 'bu', legend, OHρO. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 98-99.

4. Bhadra. Obv. King at altar, Br. legends vertically arranged, r. Shilāda, under arm 'Bhadra'. Rev. Throned Ardoksho with traces of corrupt Gk. legend. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
5. Sayatha. Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Sayatha', l. 'bha'. Rev. Similar. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
6. Sita. Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Sita', l. 'bha'. Rev. Similar, symbol to l. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
7. Seṇa. Obv. Similar, r. 'Shāka', under arm 'Seṇa', l. 'vi'. Rev. Similar, symbol. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
8. Bacharṇa. Obv. Similar, r. 'Shilāda', under arm 'Bacharṇa'. Rev. Similar, symbol. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
9. Chhu. Obv. Similar, under arm 'Chhu', l. 'ga.' Rev. Similar, symbol. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 104-5.
10. Sarvayaśa. Obv. King standing at altar, much debased, Br. legend, 'kida' with four-pointed mātrā on the head of 'Ka' and to l. vertically Br. legend, 'Baga'. Rev. Throned Ardoksho, much debased, Br. legend, Sarvayaśasya. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 116.
11. Śrī Sāhi. Obv. Similar, 'Kida' below arm and Br. Śrī Sāhi on lover l. margin. Rev. Similar, no symbol or legend. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 115
12. Kushāno-Sassanian. Obv. King standing l. at altar, with trident in l. hand, wearing richly ornamented coat and conical cap, small trident over altar, Swastika symbol between King's feet, below King's l. arm symbol. Corrupt Gk. legend, OONONOρOO BPΔOHO KOρONO. Rev. Śiva and bull in degraded style, symbol, l., legend, r. OHPO. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 108-9.
13. Kushāno-Sassanian. Obv. Similar, but more convex and better executed, King's helmet with open lion's mouth in front, Swastika between legs, Br. character 'pe' or 'pi' between sword and leg, symbol in r. field, legend

PLATE I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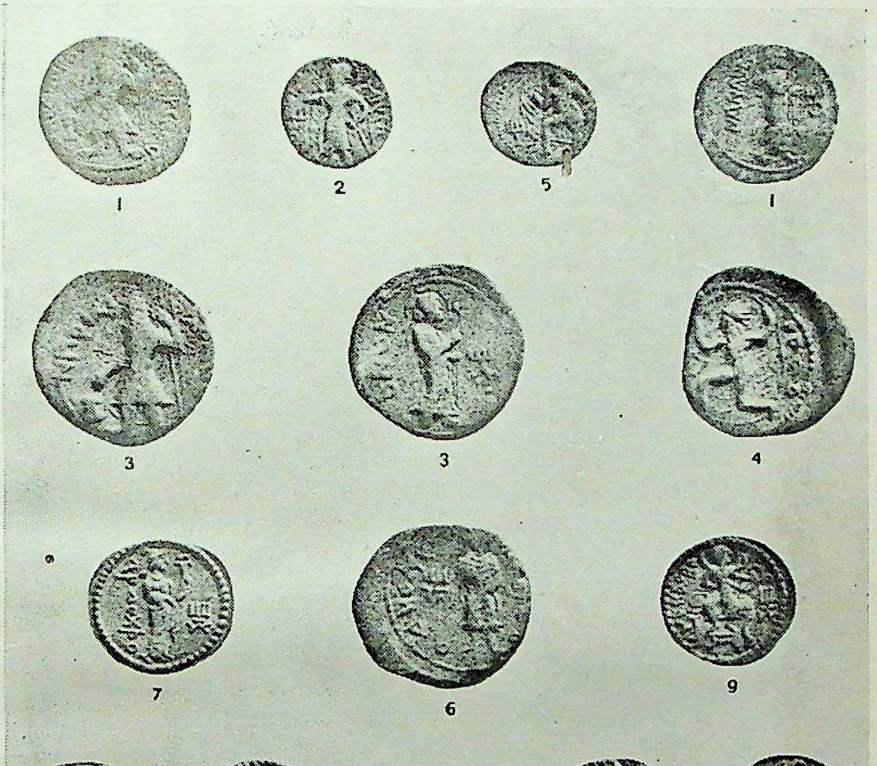
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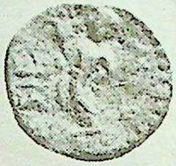
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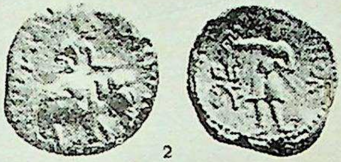
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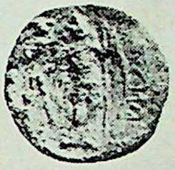
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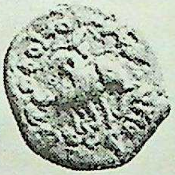
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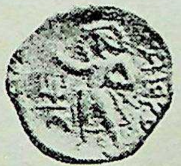
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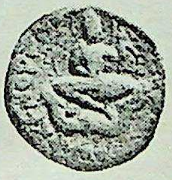
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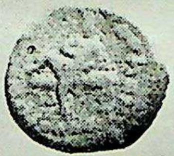
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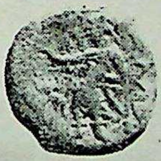
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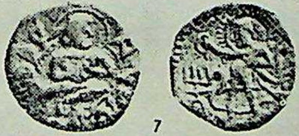
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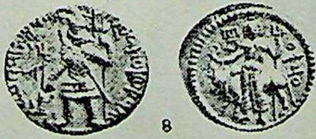
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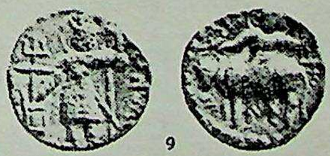
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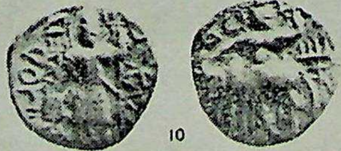
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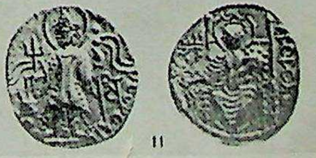
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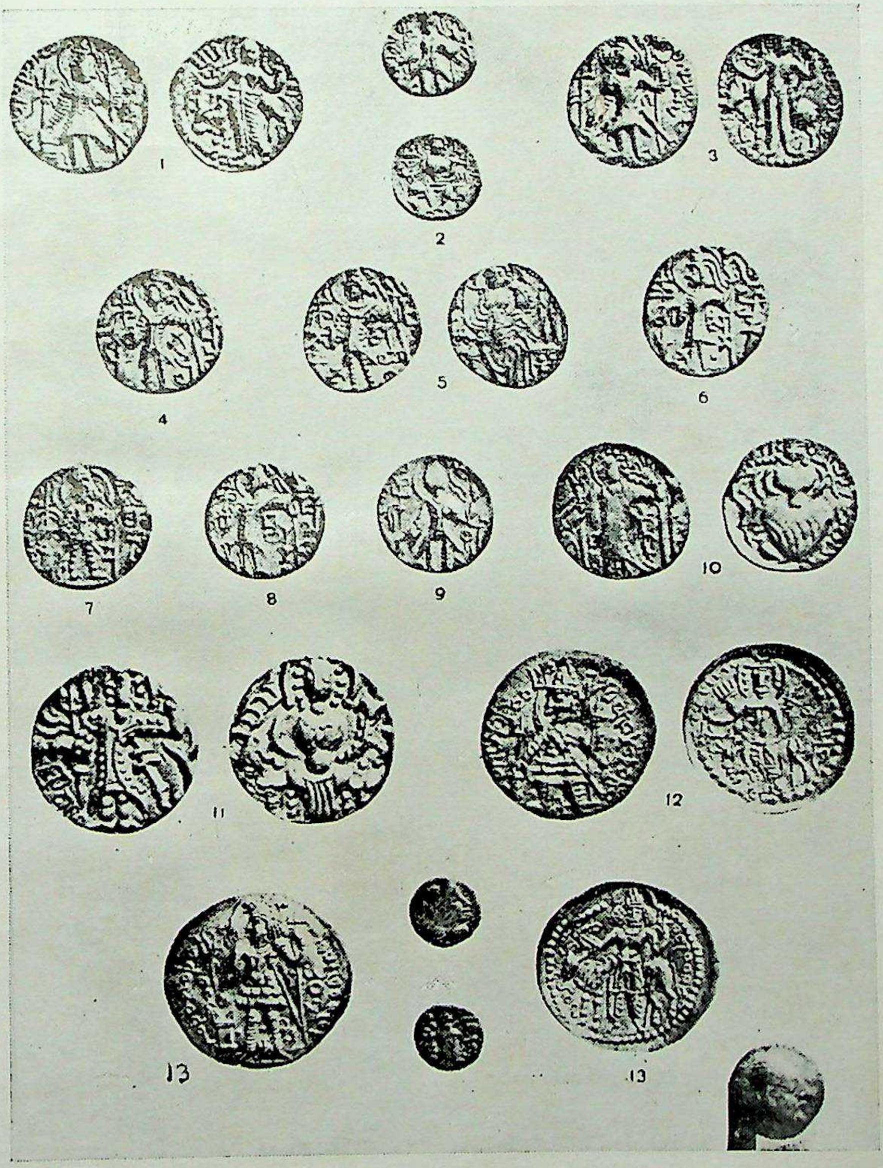
PLATE IV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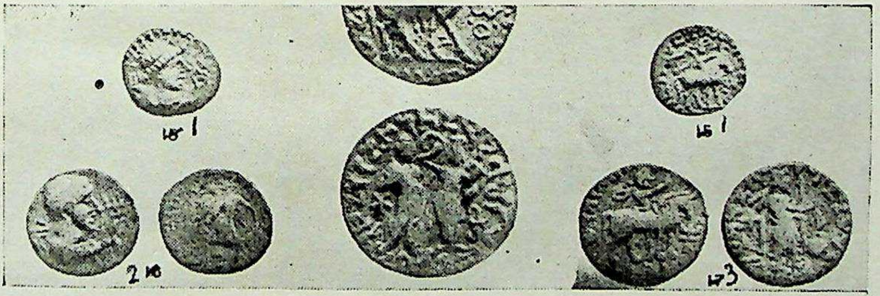

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clean, KO*ρ*ANO *ρ*A, l. and r. OωOOOZ*ρ*O intended for OYPOMAZ△O. Rev. Concave, Śiva and bull, no symbol, legend, r. 00000 to l. three characters below bull's head. *AV* round. Ch. IV. p. 108-9.

Plate V (I. M. C. I Pl. IX)

1. Soter Megas. Obv. Bust of King r., diademed and radiate, r. hand grasps a sceptre, behind head the Soter Megas symbol. Rev. Horseman to r. diademed and wearing hat, holding up a short weapon in r. hand, the symbol in r. field in front of horse. More or less corrupt legend, BACIΛEYC BACIΛEYωN CωTHP MEΓAC. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 50.
2. Soter Megas. Obv. of King as in l. but not radiate and with symbol in front. Rev. Zeus standing, facing, with head to r., grasping spear or sceptre with l. hand, and thunderbolt with r. hand, legend, r. ΛEY BACI, part of BACIΛEYC BACIΛEωN. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 51.
3. Soter Megas. Obv. Horseman r. as rev. of l. with symbol in front, and imperfect legend, BACIΛEYC BACIΛEYωN CωTHP MEΓAC. Rev. Zeus standing to r., holding long sceptre, r. arm extended; in front of him a plant-like object springing from a ball, Kh. character 'vi' or 'ti' in l. field, illegible Kh. legend, maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa. Æ round. Ch. II. p. 51.

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ERRATA

Page	line	read	in place of
,, 6,	,, 8	,, Strabo	,, Strabox
,, 7,	,, 17	,, Turki "Jabgu"	,, Turki. "Jabgu"
,, 12,	,, 1	,, Heraus	,, Heraux.
,, 13,	,, 24	,, translated it as "the Kushāṇa prince"	,, translated "the Kushāṇa prince"
,, 16,	,, 7	,, apologise	,, appologise
,, 18,	,, 16	,, Coins	,, Coius
,, 22,	,, 11	,, Hermaeus	,, Hermaeous
,, 23,	,, 18	,, is the presence	,, in the presence.
,, 26,	,, 24	,, variety	,, vareity
,, 27,	,, 20	,, 'hi-hou'	,, 'he-hou'
,, 28,	,, 5	,, Kushana	,, Kushuna
,, 29,	,, 22	,, Mahataḥ	,, Mahatah
,, 33,	,, 26	,, this type of Kadphises' coins	,, this type Kadphises' coins
,, 34,	,, 20	,, Śiva either	,, either Śiva
,, 40,	,, 19	,, emerging	,, omerging
,, 44,	,, 19	,, ankuśa	,, ankusa
,, 45,	,, 3	,, looks	,, look
,, 46,	,, 16	,, clouds	,, cloulds
,, 48,	,, 29	,, Roman	,, Raman
,, 58,	,, 2	,, bi-lingual	,, by-lingual
,, 66,	,, 9	,, Vāyu	,, Vayu
,, 76,	,, 10	,, spear	,, spears
,, 79,	,, 26	,, vase	,, base
,, 97,	,, 16	,, Kidāra-Kushāṇa	Kidara-Kushana
,, 100,	,, 33	,, as they show	,, as, they show
,, 105,	,, 24	,, Daivaputra	,, Daivaputro

Page	line	read	in place of
,, 108,	,, 28	,, there are certain such specimens	their are certain such specimens.
,, 110,	,, 1	,, So far as the inscriptions	,, So far the inscriptions
,, 111,	,, 4	,, Vuzurgo	,, Vuzurko
,, 112,	,, 13	,, Firuz II	,, Firux II
,, 114,	,, 21	,, and	,, snd.
,, 115,	,, 23	,, Śrī Shāhi	,, Sri Sahi
,, 116,	,, 3	,, Śrī Kritavīrya	,, Sri Kritavirya
,, 116,	,, 8	,, Kuśala	,, Kusala
,, 117,	,, 3	,, Varahran	,, Varahram
,, 133,	,, 12	,, Huvishka's	,, Buvishka's
,, 148,	,, 9	,, Ptolemys	,, Ptolemis
,, 156,	,, 3	,, AθρO	,, AOPO
,, 159,	,, 29	,, Strato I	,, Strabo I
,, 160,	,, 20	,, Vāyushu	,, Vayushu
,, 162,	,, 1	,, Shahriwar	,, Shahriver
,, 166,	,, 26	,, Tatkāraṇaṁ ...pāśaiḥ	,, Tatkaranam... pasaih.
,, 171,	,, 4	,, from	,, form
,, 200,	,, 26	,, Tiberius	,, Tibarius
,, 217,	,, 7	,, Greek script in the coin-legends	,, Greek script in the Kushāṇa coin-legends
,, 220,	,, 21	,, 'p' sign has not the value 'sh'	,, 'ρ' sign has not the value 'sh'.
,, 220,	,, 27	,, it was not a revival	,, was it not revival
,, 222,	,, 17	,, have become almost omicrons	,, have become almost (omicron)

Read Brāhmī or Kharoshṭhī in places where is found Brahmi, or Kharoshthi.

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